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ABSTRACT

This book examines the incidence and impact of school suspension and discusses its effectiveness as a disciplinary measure. Basically, this publication is intended to follow up and expand on a 1974 report on the use of school suspension, "Children out of School in America." Data for this current study were drawn from suspension data submitted to the federal Office for Civil Rights by 2,862 school districts, from an independent survey of over 6,500 families in nine states and the District of Columbia, and from more than 300 additional interviews with school officials and community leaders. Individual chapters offer an overview of the use of school suspension, present various educational administrators' views on school discipline, examine why children are suspended and how suspension affects them, summarize statistical data on the incidence of suspension, discuss suspension as a form of racial discrimination, describe the legal requirements for due process in suspension cases and suggest how schools can meet those requirements, and examine various approaches that have been tried as alternatives to suspension. Numerous tables that summarize statistical data on the use of school suspension are presented throughout the book and in the appendix. (JG)

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ARE THEY HELPING CHILDREN?

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Cover

The drawing on the cover was done by seven-year-old Thea Richardson, who lives in Boston.



Foreword

School discipline is at once very simple and very complicated. Simple in the fact that it is not a controversial or a questionable goal. Everyone favors safety and order in the schools. Officials charged with the responsibility of managing schools certainly do, so do teachers who must meet the needs of children in large and varied classrooms. The public repeatedly places school discipline as their primary concern in the national Gallup polls on education.¹ And children favor discipline when it is administered fairly, when rules are applied with consistency, and when it allows them to feel safe and to work effectively in school.

If there is such consensus, why is there such concern over disruption and disobedience in schools today? Here is where the complexity lies. For while everyone can agree on the need for safe, orderly schools where the atmosphere is conducive to learning and everyone respects the rights of everyone else, it has proved exceedingly difficult to achieve this end. Unfortunately, in our view, the attempt has far too often involved the exclusion of children from school.

In December 1974, we published *Children Out of School in America*,² a report about the nearly

two million children who, according to 1970 United States Census data, missed all or a substantial portion of their school year. We counted children out of school as those who had been out at least 45 days or one-quarter of the school year. And we concluded that they were out of school, for the most part, not by choice but because they had been excluded. We also found many who had been excluded for less than 45 days through disciplinary mechanisms.

One of the common mechanisms for putting children out of school is exclusionary discipline in one form or another—whether it is called suspension, expulsion, voluntary withdrawal, blocking, barring, temporary dismissal or a cooling-off period. We found that most of these disciplinary exclusions were discretionary acts, hidden from public view, with few procedures in their routine use to ensure fairness, to gather all the facts, to review the decision, or to help identify or remediate the behavior precipitating the exclusion. We also found that many suspensions were unnecessary, made no educational sense and disserved the interests of the children involved. In many cases, short-term disciplinary exclusions added up to a significant loss of schooling and caused youngsters to drop out of school permanently.

Since the issuance of our report, we have received numerous inquiries and complaints from parents whose children have been suspended or expelled and from groups who are concerned with school discipline policies and practices in their communities. We have also

¹Phi Delta Kappa, *The Gallup Polls of Attitudes Toward Education 1969-1973*, Stanley Elam, ed. (Bloomington, Indiana, 1973).

²A Report of the Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project, Inc. (Cambridge, Mass., 1974) See Appendix A of that report for an analysis of how we conducted the study.

received letters from teachers, principals and school board members asking what should be the school's response to "disruptive" students who make it difficult to teach and to learn. The recent United States Supreme Court decisions in *Goss v. Lopez*¹ and *Wood v. Strickland*² have intensified this discussion of the rights and responsibilities of all parties concerned with a student's suspension from school.

In response to this concern, we have prepared this follow-up report on school suspension. We have obtained and analyzed suspension data submitted to HEW's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) by 2,862 school districts in which 24,188,681 children attend school. We have also drawn heavily on what we learned talking to thousands of parents and children in our own survey of over 6,500 families in nine states and the District of Columbia and from more than 300 additional interviews with school officials and community leaders which were undertaken in

preparing *Children Out of School in America*. We have inquired in subsequent interviews with teachers, principals and parents into alternative measures to deal with discipline problems which do not remove children from school.

As advocates for children, as parents of pre-school and school-age children ourselves, as citizens and as taxpayers deeply concerned with the healthy operation of the educational process, CDE staff seeks to contribute constructively to the national debate about the suspension problem and to the identification of solutions. Above all, we believe that every child has a need for and a right to an education in this society.

We hope that school officials, parents, students and advocates will explore alternative disciplinary approaches which help children stay in school and help them to learn and to grow.

I want to thank Rochelle Beck for her coordination of the work on this report and Paul V. Smith for his programming and analysis of the Office for Civil Rights suspension data.

¹*Goss v. Lopez*, 419 U.S. 565, 95 S. Ct. 729 (1975).

²*Wood v. Strickland*, 420 U.S. 308, 95 S. Ct. 992 (1975).

Marian Wright Edelman
Director

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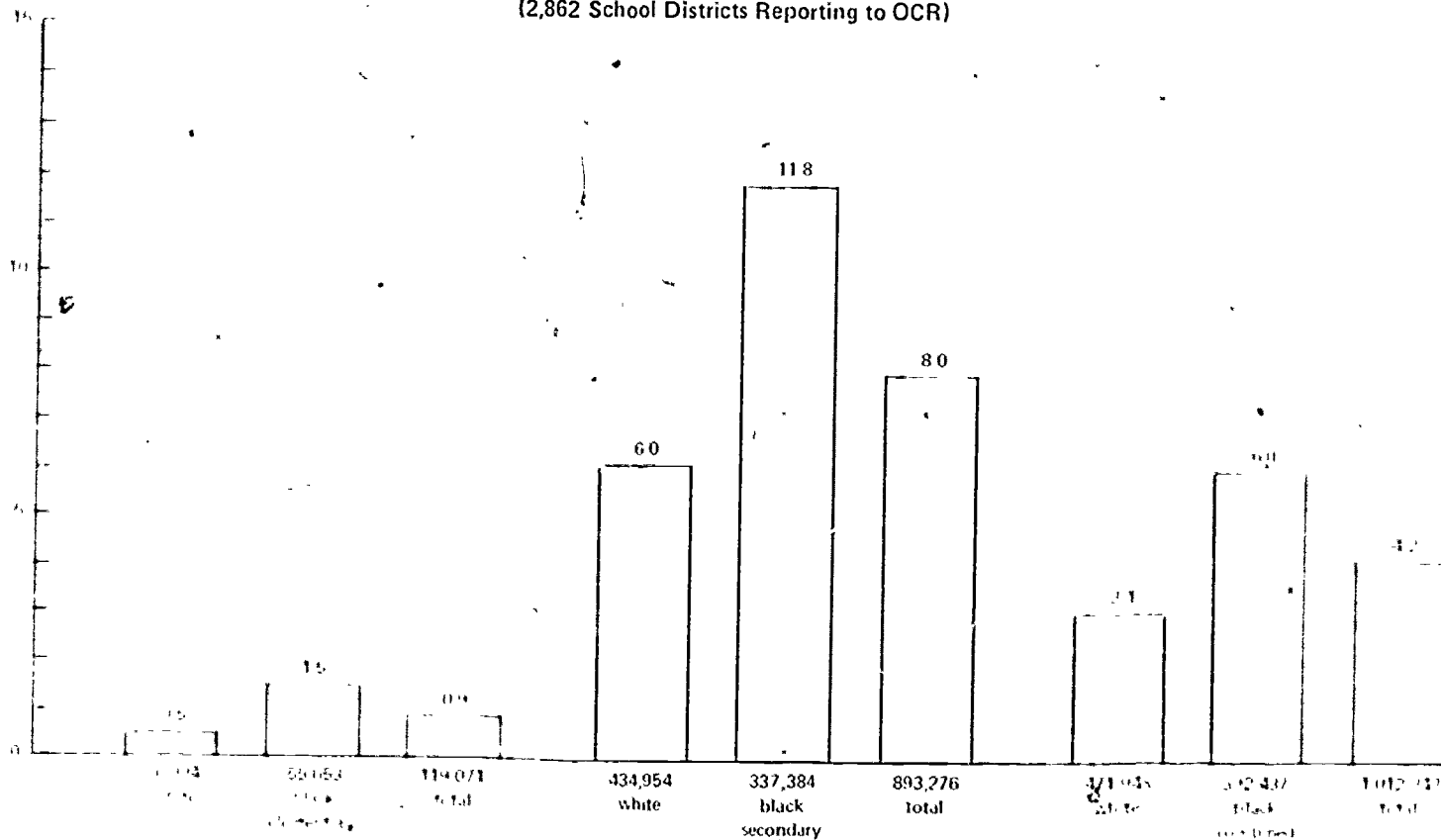
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Percent
Suspended

STUDENTS SUSPENDED AT LEAST ONCE DURING
THE 1972-1973 SCHOOL YEAR
(2,862 School Districts Reporting to OCR)





The Many Faces of Suspension

So often we do something because we have always done it. We do not question a traditional way of acting or ask if it is achieving a desirable goal. Indeed, we often forget what the goal is. So frequently we discuss general school problems, policies, data, procedures, administrative processes, budgets, legal requirements and teacher demands, that we overlook children. Yet it is the needs, fears, hopes, problems and futures of individual children that schools must never lose sight of.

In this report we want to think anew about

school suspension, how we use it, why we use it, and what it means to children. We want to start with stories about suspended children. While their names, the location of their schools, and all other identifying information have been changed to protect their confidentiality, the information about each of these children is true. They do not come from a single district or state. They are not isolated cases as the data in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 show. They are representative of many thousands of children all over America and they come from every race, class and region.

Amos

Amos Haskins is the tallest boy in his class. His height is often an advantage to him for it allows him to pass himself off as a fifteen year old when in truth he is only twelve. As a boy of fifteen he is able to get neighborhood jobs usually reserved for older boys. Jobs are important for Amos Haskins because his mother is on welfare and the monthly check she receives in no way covers the expense of raising six children.

So Amos, claiming he was fifteen, got a good job delivering clothes for one of the four cleaning shops in his neighborhood. One day, when his delivery load was excessively large, he asked to be excused from a last period study hall in order to begin work early. Knowing of the economic situation of the Haskins family, the study hall teacher readily granted Amos permission. That day he delivered clothes without the help of a car

or bike from two-thirty in the afternoon until nine-thirty that night. His dinner consisted of a peanut butter sandwich and a glass of Kool-aid.

The next day when he entered school his homeroom teacher informed him he had been suspended for leaving school early the previous afternoon. Amos explained that he had been given permission by the study hall teacher, but she was out of the city that day on business and could not confirm his story. Amos was sent home for two days. When he returned to school, the principal acknowledged that permission had been granted him. He apologized to Amos and sent a letter of apology to Mrs. Haskins. Two years after this incident, the notice of suspension remains on Amos Haskins' official school records.



Lucinda

Lucinda Carver is eleven years old. If one can say anything about her, it is that she obeys her mother's orders to the letter. One of her mother's orders is to go to the bathroom before she leaves for school so she won't have to go during class time.

Usually Lucinda follows her mother's request. But on one November afternoon, she found herself in the middle of a social studies class needing to urinate. Timidly she asked permission to be excused from the class. The teacher denied her request. Several minutes later Lucinda asked again. The teacher warned her that one more interruption and she would be taken to the principal's office. Fearing an accident, Lucinda rose from her seat and left the room. Upon

returning to the classroom the teacher ordered her to report to the principal's office. A three-day suspension followed. The official reason, misbehaving in a classroom and making it impossible for others to pay attention to the teacher.

Tommy

Tommy Trailey is twelve years old. For his birthday in April his father gave him a magnifying glass. Tommy soon discovered that if he let the sun hit the lens just right so that the light was concentrated on a piece of paper or a few strands of grass, he could start a fire.

One day after school, Tommy Trailey demonstrated this action of the magnifying glass to his friends on the small empty lot adjoining the school's playfield. Each time they set a fire, they immediately put it out with water, for they had carried a bucket of water from the school to the lot. For one full hour they experimented with the scientific fact that sunlight can be transferred into fire. They caused no damage and were meticulous about their work. They decided to ask the school science teacher to tell them about heat and light and why the magnifying glass is able to produce the flame.

The following day they eagerly went to the science teacher. Upon hearing about their experiments in the empty lot, she took all four of them to the principal's office. Later that day they were suspended, without a hearing, for three days. There was no defense, they were told, for arson.

Coretta

"Whenever I close my eyes, and think about my school," thirteen-year-old Coretta Maxwell said, "all I hear is the teachers saying don't run in the halls, don't be late to class, don't chew gum, don't be late, don't fight nobody, don't do this, don't do that. Man, you'd think to hear them that the whole school'd fall down if somebody was late one morning. And every morning somebody else is late. Every morning. Every class too, somebody's walking in after the bell rings and the school ain't fallen down yet. So why they worry so much about it?"

But Coretta worries a great deal about being late to school. Indeed she prides herself on the fact that she's never late, that she doesn't run or fight in the halls, and that she doesn't chew gum or ever get into trouble. That is, until the middle of her seventh grade year. Then she was late to school five days in a row. The school's principal forgave her these transgressions because her record had been so clean until that time. Then the next week she was late again, every morning, five days in a row. The principal asked her to give him a reason for her lateness but Coretta said she had none. "Must be a reason," the principal said kindly. "Ain't neither," Coretta replied. "Then we'll have to suspend you for a week," the principal said. "Then that's what you'll have to do," Coretta said flatly. That was the end of the so-called suspension hearing.

There was a reason for Coretta's repeated lateness, one that she might have told some of her teachers or her mother had they been invited to the hearing. Her father's alcoholism had turned him into an invalid needing constant nursing, not

only someone to fetch things for him but to keep him from committing suicide, as he threatened to do so often. Coretta's mother was willing to nurse her husband but her shift at the city hospital had been changed and she didn't return from her job until eight-thirty in the morning, which meant that Coretta could not leave for school early enough to be on time. The overriding shame and embarrassment over her father's illness made it impossible for her to tell the principal of her predicament.

Scotty

The trick that fourteen-year-old Scotty Gerard pulled off has been performed a million times in a million schools. Sometime at the end of English class, as the students in the high school milled in the second floor halls, Scotty took three books and a raincoat belonging to Nancy Hardwick and deposited them in the open locker of John Selwyn. At the end of the day, Nancy



discovered that her books and expensive rain-coat were gone, and went teary-eyed to her teacher. "They'll be found," the teacher promised, hoping to lift the child's spirits. Three days later, a search of the third floor lockers produced the stolen goods. John Selwyn, who had not the faintest idea how they had gotten into his locker, was suspended for one week for stealing, despite his plaintive protest.

For two days Scotty lived with the guilt of his trick and finally he turned himself in. He was immediately suspended. When he returned to school, he went looking for John to apologize. But John was furious at having been the butt of Scotty's trick and the two boys began fighting. Both were suspended once again.

Sidney

According to sixteen-year-old Sidney North, his fight with the mathematics teacher started when the older man called him a dumb nigger. "I was holding onto myself all during the words," Sidney said. "But then he comes at me with those words. He called me a dumb nigger. White kids were there. They heard the man. They'll tell you. They heard him say it to me. I know no student's supposed to make trouble for no teacher but he called me a dumb nigger. Makes no difference what I said or what he said up to then. He ain't got no right to say that. Ain't nobody I know going to stand for that. So I threw my books right at the window hoping they'd break that whole wall down. Guess I did break something. Wasn't paying no attention to it. Man's lucky I didn't go after him and hit him upside the head. Calling me a dumb nigger. He ain't got no right."

Breaking the windows in the mathematics classroom earned Sidney North a one-week suspension. Four witnesses to the argument stated they heard the teacher mutter the words dumb nigger. They all agreed that Sidney purposely threw the books at the window, not the teacher. Upon interviewing the teacher, he allowed as how he "might have said something about the boy's intelligence."

Gary

Gary Sanford is a muscular seventeen-year-old young man. He is considered one of the finest athletes the school has ever had and a sure bet to someday become a professional baseball player. While his interest in baseball is intense, it is equalled by his desire to work with handicapped children.

On the ball field next to his school, Gary Sanford started to gently pitch a baseball to boys a few years younger than himself who were in a special class for mentally retarded children. They looked at Gary Sanford with awe and treasured the few hours each week he spent teaching them baseball. He taught them a great deal and it showed in their performance. Indeed all of them, Gary especially, were literally jumping with excitement when one of the boys finally hit one of Gary's underhand pitches. The only trouble was it went right through the boys' lavatory window.

"There is no excuse for such an accident," one of the assistant principals told Gary and his parents. "The field is large enough that the boys did not have to be anywhere near the school building. The one-week suspension is mandatory, and given Gary's special status in the school, necessary. His suspension and the equitable treatment shown him will set an example for the student body."

Sarah

Fourteen-year-old Sarah was a seventh grade student in good standing when she was suspended in February, 1974 from her Middle School after the principal learned she was pregnant. In order to continue her education during her pregnancy she had to go to a night program. After her child was born in July, 1974, Sarah tried to enroll in the day program at the high school for the 1974-75 school year, but she was refused admittance by the principal and superintendent on the ground that existing school board policy forbids school attendance by unwed mothers. To wit:

Any student who becomes a parent will be suspended from the school program and must appear before the Board of Trustees prior to re-entering school. The purpose of this hearing is to determine if the student is immoral and if that fact will cause a disturbance within the school (the fact that a student has had a child does not necessarily constitute immorality).

Sarah never got a hearing and was never readmitted. She independently sought and later enrolled in an almost entirely adult night program that is plainly inferior to the regular day school program.

Kathy

Kathy Monahan was always hungry. She had a condition known as "bulimia," or an abnormal increase in the sensation of hunger. She did not get enough to eat at lunch, and even by snacking on candy bars and cookies between classes, she could not make it through the last afternoon classes without eating more. For weeks she was able to hide her eating in class, but finally one day she was caught and warned that she was violating a school regulation. It happened a second time and she was warned more sternly. Unable to control the intense need for food, she continued snacking in class and finally was caught for the third time. She was suspended for one week and told that if she was caught again, the suspension could be as long as a month. A good student, she wept on hearing the punishment.

Kathy Monahan returned to school after the week suspension realizing that there was no way she could control her constant need to eat. Within a matter of several weeks she was again caught eating in class. The punishment of a one-month suspension was handed down. This time her parents protested, but she was suspended nevertheless. During her time out of school a clinical psychologist was called in to make an evaluation of the child. He ordered a complete neurological examination which revealed that Kathy had a tumor of the hypothalamus which had caused her increased hunger. Fortunately,

Kathy Monahan responded to medical treatment and there have been no further disciplinary problems at school.

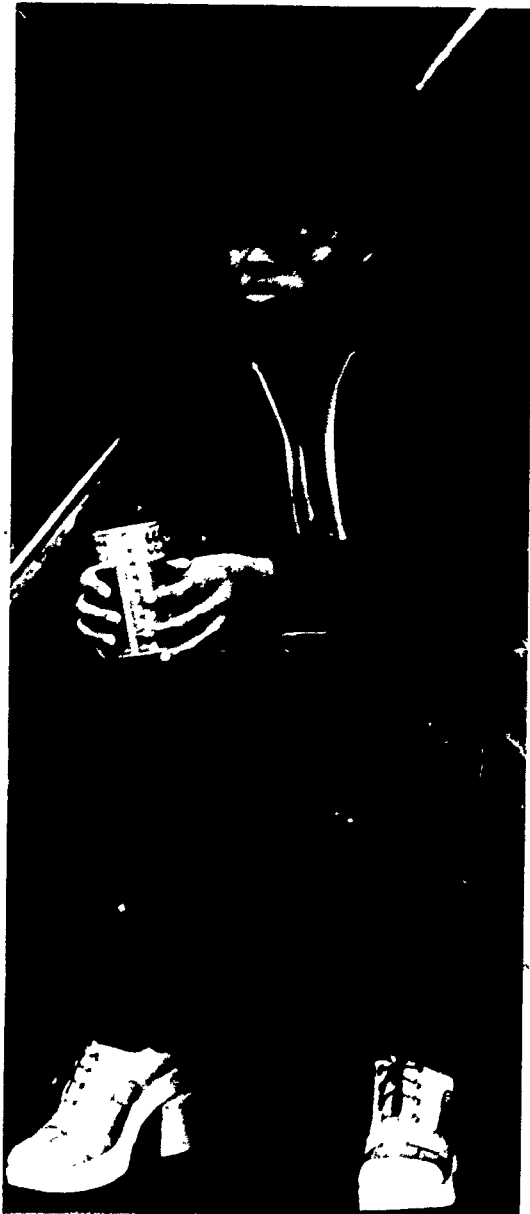


Louise and Erma

Louise, sixteen, suffers from occasional black-outs that necessitate her being on large doses of medication and she has a speech impairment. In 1972, she was certified as mentally retarded and placed in a special education class. State regulations set a maximum special class size of fifteen but Louise's class has nineteen children. There are no teacher aides. Louise is not allowed to participate in the regular school program or to take part in activities with non-handicapped children.

During February, 1975, Louise was suspended from school for allegedly yelling back at children who were teasing her. Several days later, the school nurse told Mrs. R. to keep her daughter home for a while longer. Still later, Louise's

teacher told Mrs. R. that Louise could not come back to school until she underwent a psychological evaluation. The school did not arrange for the evaluation and Mrs. R. was not given an opportunity to challenge Louise's suspension. Louise was not readmitted to school until a community worker intervened on Mrs. R.'s behalf several weeks later.



Erma, also sixteen, suffers from periodic epileptic seizures which are controlled by medication. She received very poor grades during her first four school years so in 1972 Erma was given standardized intelligence tests and was placed in a class for the mentally retarded. Although the tester indicated that Erma should be retested when she was not under medication, this has never been done.

Although she had never been a behavior problem before, Erma has been involved in a number of altercations with other students in the special class. As a result, she has been suspended from school for a total of 51 days during the current year. In October, 1974, a Regional Mental Health Center recommended that Erma's school placement be changed, but the school principal has refused to do so or to reevaluate Erma's program to determine whether it can be made more appropriate to her needs.

Beedie

Sixteen-year-old Beedie Zacharias cut her 1.40 English class on Tuesday. She stayed on school grounds for that period and went to the rest of her classes that day. She did the same thing on Wednesday. The following Tuesday and Wednesday she cut English class again. This time her teacher reported the absences to an assistant principal. Beedie was called out of her last period Spanish class and made to report to the principal, who suspended her on the spot for the rest of the week.

Beedie told the principal she cut English class on Tuesdays and Wednesdays because students were asked to read aloud and she read so poorly that she was embarrassed to read in front of her classmates. The principal told her he felt this to be a weak excuse, but if her reading skills bothered her, she should report to one of the guidance counselors. But the suspension still was to go into effect. She was told to take her belongings out of her locker and go home at once.

Chuggie

Even the most charitable teacher or student in his junior high school would say that Chuggie Andrews was the most disliked child they had ever met. Nobody seemed to like this large, heavy set thirteen-year-old boy, and for good reason. Everywhere he went he started a fight, menaced someone, teased someone to the point of their bursting into tears. Chuggie was a bully, a roughneck who apparently could get along with no one. Certainly his foster parents worried about him, fought with him, and wondered what new trouble he had found when he stayed out at night well beyond his curfew hour.

Surprisingly, Chuggie was not a bad student. Just when he did his work, no one seemed to know, and his grades were always passing or better. It was the one area, fighting, that perpetually got him into trouble. Despite the fact that anybody who exchanged even a few words with him knew how badly troubled he was, and how much he needed psychological help, his school's response to his outbursts was always a notice of suspension. Again and again, the same pattern: bulliness, a fight, a suspension. And when he was out of school for a few days or a week, he roamed the streets flirting with disaster, taunting children, making himself as objectionable as he could.

Nobody helped Chuggie Andrews though everyone said he needed help. When he was thirteen-and-a-half, he was suspended for the usual reasons. He never returned to school. In fact, it is now fourteen months since he has attended any school.

Jody

They say it was the coldest day of the year, that one January afternoon when the Clemson boy "went crazy." No one seems to know to this day what it was that got into him. The only thing anybody knew was that when his teacher entered her classroom to fetch her coat and purse at the

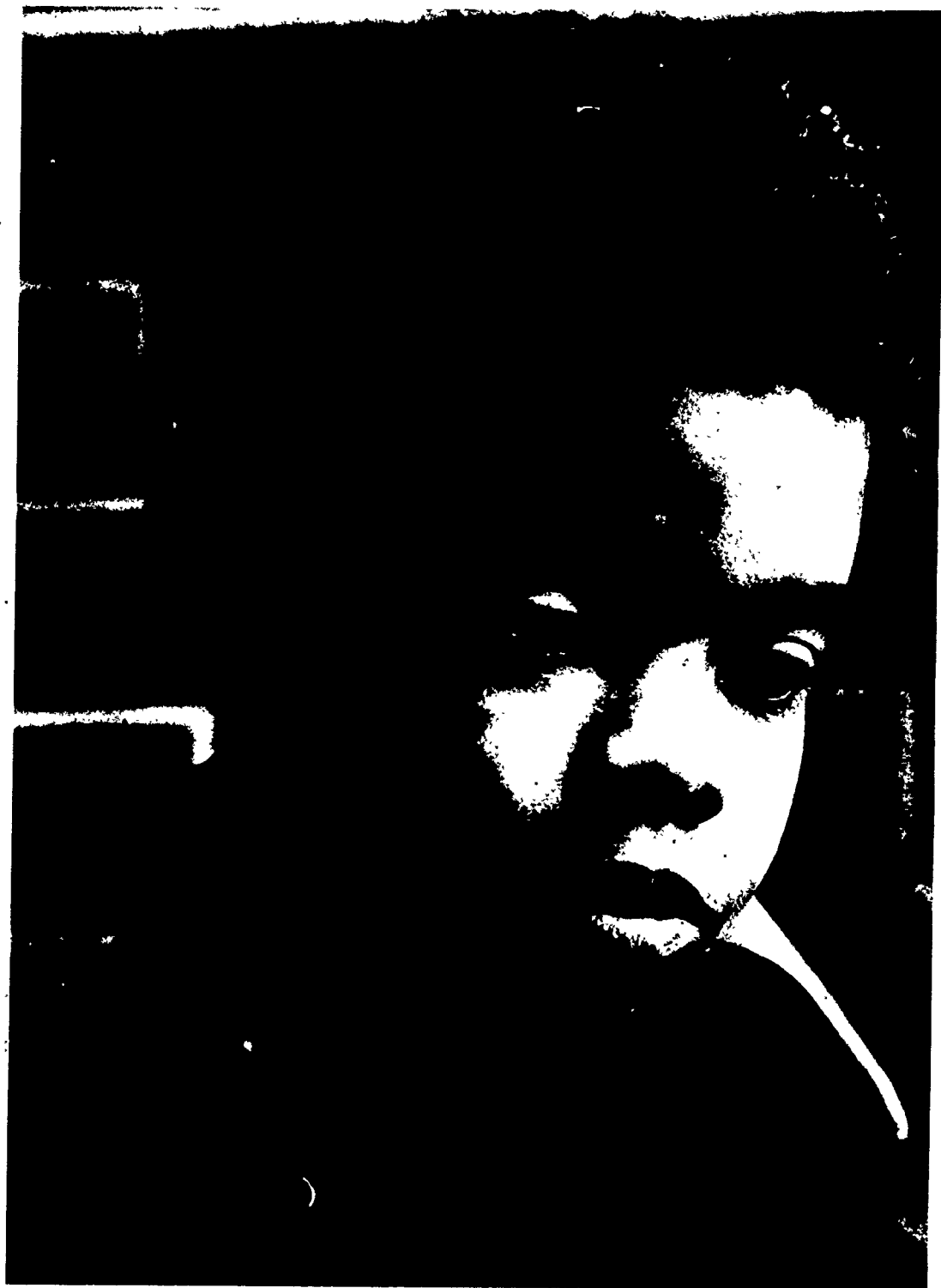
end of the day, the room was in complete shambles. The blackboard had been smashed and pulled down from the wall, the shelves were overturned, spilling the books everywhere. Red paint had been thrown around, two window panes were broken, desks were tipped over and ink bottles broken. It was like a cyclone had hit the room, and sitting in the middle of the floor amidst the rubble and broken objects was eleven-year-old Jody. His legs were crossed, his fists clenched, blood oozed from a cut on his forehead and he was crying.

"The boy went crazy, that's all there was to it. He went mad," is all one heard that day and throughout the following weeks. "The boy went crazy. He was perfectly fine until something must have snapped in his mind. Nothing could have provoked him to do this," the principal said.

For this bizarre episode, Jody was suspended from school for three weeks. There was talk of psychiatric consultation but no arrangements were ever made. A three-week "cooling-off" period would do him good, it was said. "Let him ponder on his serious mistake," Jody's mother was asked to make a financial contribution for the expenses incurred in repairing the room. This was difficult as Mrs. Clemson was on welfare; there was no money to pay bills of this sort.

In desperation Jody sought to make amends and help his mother with her financial burden. He joined a small gang which was planning a robbery. They hoped to clear about one hundred dollars each. The robbery went off without a hitch but two hours later Jody and a friend were picked up on the street by two policemen. The following morning he was arraigned in court. Eventually he was placed on probation and allowed to return to school, now with a criminal record.

Three months later, with the bill for the school room repairs still unpaid, and his mother unable to meet her expenses, Jody again participated in a robbery. He was caught a second time and sentenced to reform school where he is now incarcerated.



Overview

Our study of school suspensions has led us to the following broad findings and conclusions.

The use of suspensions in public schools has reached mammoth proportions. In the 1972-73 school year, school districts with a little over half of the student population in this country suspended *over one million children*. These suspensions represented a loss of over four million school days and over 22,000 school years.

The vast majority of school suspensions in CDE's survey were for nondangerous, nonviolent offenses which do not have a seriously disruptive effect on the educational process. Many of the suspensions were for truancy, tardiness, pregnancy, smoking, minor violations of dress codes or failure to purchase required equipment. By contrast, less than 3 percent of the suspensions were for destruction of property, the use of drugs or alcohol, or other criminal activity.

Approximately one-third of the suspensions involved fighting, all but a miniscule proportion of these were for fights between students, rather than for incidents of violence against faculty or school staff.

Suspensions impact on some children more than on others. While the largest numbers of suspended children are white, proportionately suspensions hurt more children who are black, poor, older and male. Most striking is the disparate suspension of black school children, they are suspended at twice the rate

of any other group. Twenty school districts reported suspending one-third to one-half of their black students; one district suspended 64 percent of its black students, another district suspended 53 percent. Although black suspension rates stand out, our survey data and interviews make plain that they are part and parcel of a pervasive intolerance by school officials for children who are *different* in any number of ways.

The use of suspensions, the grounds for suspensions, the procedures for suspensions, and the lengths of suspensions vary widely between school districts and, indeed, between schools in a single district. In many districts, there is no written code of student conduct, or a code may contain vague prohibitions such as "any other form of misconduct" which can be interpreted in many different ways.

Suspensions are often imposed arbitrarily, without affording the student an opportunity to explain, or without giving his or her parents an opportunity to be contacted. As a result, the severe sanction of deprivation of schooling may be imposed without a fair inquiry into the facts which might show that no wrong had been committed and that suspension was inappropriate.

Perhaps most importantly, the great majority of suspensions do not serve any demonstrated valid interests of children or schools. Instead, they harm the children involved and jeopardize their prospects for

securing a decent education. Suspension pushes children and their problems into the street, thereby causing more problems for them and for the rest of us. They have become a crutch enabling school people to avoid the tougher issues of ineffective and inflexible school programs; poor communications with students, parents, and community; and a lack of understanding about and commitment to serving children from many different backgrounds and with many different needs in our public schools.

Finally, suspensions are not necessary, except in a small minority of cases, to maintain order. Many school districts have developed alternatives to school suspensions that seek to serve the purpose of achieving and maintaining discipline in the schools, while at the same time responding to the legitimate educational and psychological needs of the children involved. Alternatives should be supported, refined, and multiplied to meet the needs of children and teachers in all school districts.

Myths About Suspension

Many people assume that school suspensions affect a few patently unruly troublemakers who are mostly black and in large, inner-city school districts. They also assume that suspensions are an effective educational tool, evenhandedly administered, used only after other alternatives have been tried and have failed, and are an essential deterrent to growing reports of school violence and disruption. None of these assumptions is true.

How Many Children are Suspended?

According to our analysis of data submitted to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office for Civil Rights (OCR),¹ one in

¹In the Fall of 1973, OCR included questions regarding student suspensions in its Annual Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey which is required under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. School districts were requested to provide for each school "the number of pupils suspended at least once from this school campus

TABLE 1
15 Worst States in OCR Survey For All Students,
Ranked by Percent Suspended and
by Number Suspended

Rank	State	Percent Sus- pended	State	Number Sus- pended
1	Rhode Island	8.8	California	141,768
2	Louisiana	8.6	Florida	76,185
3	Connecticut	7.2	Louisiana	72,792
4	Pennsylvania	6.8	Texas	63,466
5	Wisconsin	6.8	Illinois	55,004
6	New Jersey	6.4	Pennsylvania	48,842
7	South Carolina	6.2	New York	43,245
8	Idaho	6.1	North Carolina	40,615
9	Delaware	5.9	Virginia	39,365
10	Illinois	5.6	South Carolina	39,214
11	Virginia	5.4	Georgia	38,725
12	Florida	5.1	Ohio	38,566
13	Kansas	5.1	New Jersey	36,554
14	Ohio	4.8	Maryland	32,030
15	Michigan	4.6	Michigan	31,111

Source. OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

every 24 children enrolled in the reporting districts, and one in every 13 secondary students enrolled, was suspended at least once during the 1972-73 school year.² Thirteen states reported

during the previous school year" and "the total number of suspension days from this school campus during the previous school year" (Form OX CR 102, Items X.A., B.) In addition, each district was asked to include on the "School System Summary Report" a total, by race and ethnic group, of the number of pupils suspended at least once. (Form OX CR 101, Item VII.B.) OCR data account for 53 percent of the total school enrollment in the United States, and almost 86 percent of the minority enrollment. OCR data for 1972-73 are the most recent national data available on suspensions.

²These figures understate the problem of disciplinary exclusions in American schools. Not included are all those children who

(1) "voluntarily withdrew," "dropped out," were sent home for "cooling-off periods," "dismissed," "medically discharged" or "discharged," were "academically suspended," suspended from buses or who underwent "proposed suspensions" which excluded them from education. In addition, during the 1972-73 school year, school districts reported expelling over 37,000 children;

(2) were shunted off into special education classes for

suspending over 5 percent of their school populations. Fifteen states reported suspending over 30,000 school children. California alone reported almost 142,000 suspensions even though its data did not include any schools in Los Angeles!¹

The suspension problem is not limited to any particular kind of school district. Although the

punishment purposes or because they were "behavior" problems. Black parents and school children often see special education as the main device, other than suspension, for segregating black children. OCR collects information on enrollment of school children in special education classes by race. Our analysis of this data shows that black children are more than three times as likely to end up in educable mentally retarded (I MR) classes as white children. Among the districts reporting to OCR, the white I MR rate was 1.0 percent and the black rate was 3.2 percent during the 1973-74 school year.

- (3) were transferred back and forth from one school to another within a school district or sent off to night school or other programs of varying inferior quality because regular classroom teachers did not want to deal with them or because regular schools saw them as too troublesome,
- (4) were listed as dropouts but for whom the triggering device was a suspension, and
- (5) were in jails and institutions because schools too frequently ignored their needs and passed them on to other adult authorities, often with grave consequences.

Moreover, OCR figures are only from districts included in the survey and reporting, not from all of the districts in each of the states. Many of the reporting districts failed to report all suspensions. For example, in Richland County, South Carolina, a complainant wrote OCR about the fact that the suspension figures reported to OCR (4,085) were for only one of the two semesters in the 1972-73 school year.

OCR figures also do not reflect multiple suspensions but rather children suspended "at least once during the 1972-73 school year." Our survey on children out of school revealed that 16 percent of the children who had been suspended had been suspended twice and 24 percent had been suspended three or more times. More than 50 percent of the secondary students had been suspended two or more times in eight CDE survey areas (*Children Out of School in America*, Appendix I, p. 341).

¹Los Angeles reported no suspensions to OCR for the 1972-73 school year, but in an article in the *New York Times* of January 27, 1975 (p. 27), the Los Angeles school system is reported to have suspended one in every 15 children.

TABLE 2
Suspensions Rates in Selected
Louisiana School Districts

District	Percent Suspended All Students	Percent, Suspended Secondary Students
Assumption Parish	12.5	16.9
Bogalusa City	11.6	18.2
Caddo Parish	13.1	26.2
Concordia Parish	14.9	25.9
East Baton Rouge Parish	10.3	20.6
Iberville Parish	14.4	23.6
Jefferson Parish	16.0	24.0
Lincoln Parish	14.0	23.3
Plaquemines Parish	13.5	27.9
St. John the Baptist Parish	11.6	18.3
Tangipahoa Parish	10.9	18.4
West Baton Rouge Parish	16.7	24.5

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

largest school districts North and South suspended the largest numbers of children,⁴ the proportions of children kicked out of school in many smaller districts are great. In fact, the highest suspension rate in the nation during the 1972-73 school year was in Gridley, California, which suspended 40.9 percent of its 600 students. Bridgeton, New Jersey, with only 3,700 students, suspended almost a third of its total student body. Twelve of Louisiana's 66 school districts reported suspension rates of over 10 percent. Many were small towns and rural counties. Secondary school suspension rates in these districts ranged from one-sixth to nearly one-fourth of the total secondary enrollment.

Why Are Children Suspended?

A stunning lack of public information exists on the actual grounds for most suspensions.

⁴Of the 21 largest school districts (enrollment over 100,000 students) 19 reported their suspensions to OCR. Of the 19, all except 3 (Baltimore City and Montgomery County, Maryland, and Washington, D.C.) were in the top 50 districts when ranked by number of students suspended at least once. See Appendix B for individual district rankings. All district data appearing in this chapter, not otherwise identified, will be found in Appendix B, where the data calculations are described completely.

Indeed, many school officials keep almost no records or very poor records of suspensions. This is in large part due to their almost total discretion in the area of discipline, the lack of central school reporting requirements, or any felt school need to be accountable to the public or parents and students. OCR asks for numbers and race of children suspended, but it does not collect information on the reasons for suspension. When we asked parents and children about the reasons for suspensions, we found that most children were suspended for nondangerous offenses.⁴ Of all the suspensions recorded in our survey, 63.4 percent were for infractions of school rules, not for dangerous or violent acts.⁵ A large proportion of suspensions were for victimless offenses; overall almost 25 percent were for truancy and tardiness, and in some of our survey districts, the number of children who were suspended for truancy and tardiness ranged from one-third to one-half of all suspensions recorded.

A range of personal conditions—pregnancy, marriage, parenthood, “handicap,” or poverty-related problems—were also grounds for suspension. We found one child suspended for having lice, another because he was a bedwetter at night, and another because he could not afford to pay for a ruler he had accidentally broken in shop class. Numerous districts resort to suspension to correct dress or other personal habits of children. Four black children were suspended for not having their gym suits. Almost 6 percent of the suspensions in CDE’s survey were for smoking. According to the Michigan State Superintendent of Education, “perhaps the largest single discipline problem faced by public schools in Michigan, and in the nation, is the question of student smoking.”⁶ Finally, there are a wide

variety of arbitrary and discretionary reasons for suspension. For example, a Portland, Maine child was suspended for “arrogant defiance to authority, not verbal but by look.”⁷

Who is the Suspended Child?

Although statistically a child is more likely to be suspended if he is black, poor, and in high school, the majority of students suspended are white and from families not receiving AFDC or other welfare benefits. While secondary students were suspended nine times as frequently as elementary students during the 1972-73 school year, nearly 120,000 elementary school children were suspended at least once. And while officials are most apt to exclude boys from school, “offenses” like pregnancy and dress code violations cause many girls to be suspended each year. There is no group of children for whom suspension is not a problem.

Racial Discrimination in School Suspensions

No one is immune from suspension, but black children were suspended at twice the rate of any other ethnic group. Nationally, if they had been suspended at the same rate as whites, nearly 50 percent or 188,479 of the black children suspended would have remained in school. Although black children accounted for 27.1 percent of the enrollment in the districts reporting to OCR, they constituted 42.3 percent of the racially identified suspensions.⁸

CDE survey data, like OCR data, found disproportionate suspension of black children.

⁸Suspension Data for Three School Years, Portland, Maine Public Schools, King Junior High School 1973-74 School Year

⁴See Appendix A of this report for the questionnaire used to obtain data on suspension and other disciplinary exclusions.

⁵See Table 1 in Chapter 2 of this report for a detailed breakdown of the reasons for suspension from CDE’s survey.

⁶“Recommended Guide to Students’ Rights and Responsibilities in Michigan,” prepared by the Michigan State Department of Education (Pamphlet)

⁷Some districts reported suspensions but not by race. For example, Chicago reported 28,633, Philadelphia reported 18,431, and New York reported 16,268 racially unidentified suspensions. For a listing of the major districts which failed to identify the ethnicity of suspended students, see Table 2 in Appendix B. See Chapter 4 for 20 worst districts in the United States for black student suspensions. The total numbers of enrollments and suspensions by race, from which the above percentages were computed, can be found in Appendix B.



While 4.4 percent of all the children in our survey were suspended at least once, the rate for black children was 7.3 percent. At the secondary school level, black students were suspended more than three times as often as white students (12.8 percent compared with 4.1 percent).¹⁰

Some will claim that disproportionate suspension of black children simply reflects their disproportionate misbehavior. We reject this view. All the evidence we have seen—our survey data; our analysis of OCR data and school district suspension reports; interviews with school officials, parents, children and community groups; and review of the investigations and literature of other groups on school discipline—makes plain that disproportionate suspension of blacks reflects a pervasive school intolerance for children who are *different*. As Chapter 4 documents in more detail, the incidence of suspension is more a function of school policies and prac-

tices than of students' behavior. How else does one explain two districts with similar enrollment sizes, racial compositions, and economic and school resource characteristics, where one suspends blacks and whites at the same rate and the other suspends blacks at twice the white rate?

The fact is that many school districts treat black children differently from white children.¹¹ Some black children are suspended for offenses for which white children are not suspended, or receive different treatment for similar offenses.

¹⁰*Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954). Since the Supreme Court in *Brown* found illegal racial segregation and discrimination against black school children in public schools, too many school districts and school officials have spent incalculably more time trying to avoid its mandate than seeking to ensure that every child, regardless of race, is treated fairly and provided an education free of racial segregation and discrimination. See *Morgan v. Hennigan*, 379 F.Supp. 410 (D. Mass. 1974). See also Report of the Southern Regional Council and the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, *The Student Pushout: Victim of Continued Resistance to Desegregation*, (n.p., 1973).

¹¹See *Children Out of School in America*, Appendix I, Table III, pp. 238-241.

Black children often bear the brunt of tensions arising from desegregation.¹² Discriminatory attitudes and habits once apparent in blatantly dual school systems now simply reflect themselves in the so-called "second generation" desegregation problems involving discriminatory discipline, tracking and special education placement.¹³

A black teacher in a South Boston high school relates that white school official fears, misperceptions and insensitivity result in black children being thrown out far more often than white children.¹⁴ He relates:

I have observed . . . my white colleagues, on several occasions, express open resentment when faced with . . . apparent misperceptions [about black students]. In such a situation, the usual response from black students involved has been one of expressed resentment in return. In many cases, this has resulted in an escalation of the situation resulting, in turn, in a disciplinary referral. I have observed, for example, a white teacher challenge the possession by a black student of a "pick" - a style of Afro comb used by many black students for grooming purposes. The teacher's attempt to

This is especially true if teaching and administrative staffs are also not desegregated and if no preparation or sensitivity training is provided white teachers and administrators. The *Boston Globe* of June 17, 1975, quotes an unidentified Boston Headmaster's explanation for the disparity in suspension rates in Boston "you have blacks in previously all white schools for the first time. The teachers don't know how to handle them. They are not used to the [black] culture." He was also quoted as saying "Over the years, black youngsters were expected to achieve and behave at a lower level. And if teachers expect poor behavior, they'll get it."

¹²The most recent discussion of tracking is *McNeely v. Tarrant County School District*, 508 F.2d 1017 (5th Cir. 1975). Or discriminatory discipline, see *Haskins v. Coleman*, 376 F. Supp. 1330 (N.D. Tex. 1974). On special education, see *Larry P. v. Riles*, 343 F. Supp. 1306 (N.D. Cal. 1972).

¹³Since September, 1974, Boston School officials have suspended 5,076 black children and 3,367 white children. (*Boston Evening Globe*, Tuesday, June 17, 1975, p. 3.) Compared to the relative attendance rates of the two groups, this racial disproportion could occur by chance less than one in one billion times.

confiscate the comb resulted in resistance by the student and a confrontation. It is my belief that this situation occurred solely because of the inexperience of the people involved in relating to those of different cultural backgrounds. It is also my belief, based on personal experience and observation, that when an incident of apparent racial strife occurs, some white teachers see the black student as the original aggressor and as the source of the continuing threat to school order, even when neither perception is true.¹⁵

Boston is not atypical. No more pressing agenda remains than the unfinished task of eradicating racial discrimination and insensitivity from American schools, for suspension is a severe problem for black children in racially segregated districts and desegregating districts alike.¹⁶ Desegregation simply lifts the problem to the surface.

How Are Children Suspended?

Not only are suspensions rampant for all children, and disproportionate in their effect on black children, they are frequently imposed by school officials arbitrarily and unilaterally with little effective chance for parents and children to be heard. Parents and children were informed of a right to a hearing in only 3.4 percent of the suspensions we found in our survey.

Jay was "playing around" with another student while waiting to board his school bus at the end of a school day in a recently desegregated school. A teacher asked him to return to the building. Jay was afraid, that he would miss his bus and be stranded in

¹⁴See affidavit filed in support of *Plaintiffs' Motion for Further Relief Concerning School Discipline in Morgan v. Kerrigan*, excerpted in Chapter 4 of this report.

¹⁵For example, a complaint has been filed against racially discriminatory suspension policies in Newburgh, New York, a district that not only suspends black students at a rate twice as high as the white rate, but which also has just refused to comply with a New York State Board of Education order to implement a long forestalled desegregation plan. See the Amended Complaint filed in *Ross v. Klotz et. al.* Civil Action No. 74 Civ. 5047 (J.J.C.), (filed April 15, 1975.)

an unsafe area so he refused. He was summarily suspended by the teacher and told that he would have to bring a parent to school with him in order to be readmitted at the end of three days. When he returned three days later without his parent, the principal refused to admit him. Eight days later, Jay, his parent, and an outside advocate got him readmitted. The parent who could not get to school earlier had recently undergone heart surgery. Jay never had a hearing to explain his side of the event. His parents were never informed either in writing or by phone of his suspension.

When held, hearings were usually after the suspension and rarely involved impartial discussions of the facts or of the underlying problems giving rise to the suspension.¹⁷ Some schools were unresponsive even when parents actively sought help.

When Bennie began first grade in his Mississippi school district in 1973, he cried a great deal of the time. After two weeks, he was suspended by the principal without a hearing. In an effort to have the school reconsider its decision, Bennie's mother had him examined by a private physician. She delivered his diagnosis to the school and asked them to readmit Bennie. She never received any response to these efforts. In September, 1974, she sought to have Bennie enrolled in first grade again, but the principal still refused to enroll him. As a result, Bennie stays at home all day by himself and is receiving no educational services at all.¹⁸

One principal was asked about the purpose of a post-suspension conference. "Is it a conference to verify the facts supporting this suspension, or is it more a conference to determine future placement?" His answer: "No, because always placement is right back where they are. It is to communicate with the parent, as part of my responsibility, the problem that exists and ask for their help. We inform them and then find out what directions we can take that will eliminate the need for further problems." As quoted in *Amicus Brief of the Children's Defense Fund filed in *Goss v. Lopez*, in the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1973, Civil Action No. 73-898, at 11.*

¹⁷See *Matthe I. et al v. Garvin II Johnson, et al*, D.C. Miss., Division, C.A. No. DC75-31-S, a CDI suit challenging the absence and inadequacy of special education services in a number of Mississippi counties.

Not only are children suspended by unfair means, countless children are suspended by school districts that have failed to provide clear or consistent guidelines of conduct. We found almost as many suspension policies as schools. Within a single school district, we found principals who did not suspend at all, principals who suspended a little, and principals who suspended a lot. We also found extraordinary variation in the length of suspensions and in the number and kinds of suspendable offenses among school districts and among schools in a single district.¹⁹ In sum, a child's chances of being suspended depend on which district, which school, and which class he or she has the luck to land in.

What Purpose Do Suspensions Serve?

Suspension serves no purpose at all only that it might worsen the problem. Put them on the street and let them go downtown and they'll begin doing the things that they wouldn't have done if they were in school. I don't even consider suspension because it just does not help the kid. Where do the kids go when they are suspended? What do they do during the day? All they do, they get a chance to get involved with people who are out there on the street. . . . They'll just fall prey to a lot of vicious kinds of things. That is why I don't understand. Why put them out in the street?²⁰

Even if they were administered fairly, without racial or class discrimination, only for serious reasons, and with adequate standards of due process and justice, would suspensions make educational sense? Do they solve behavior problems? Do they help children? Are they necessary to maintain order? We think the answer to all of these questions is no.

Not a single school official we interviewed contended suspension helped children. One principal said: "I just don't think we're helping any if we suspend a kid, we just get the kid out of

¹⁹See Chapter 2 of this report for further discussion of grounds for suspension.

²⁰Interview with Owen Wilks, Master Teacher, Everywhere School, Hartford, Connecticut, March 18, 1975.



our hair for a while.”²¹ A superintendent said “suspensions, even for a short time, don’t do much for kids.”²² And another principal summed it up this way, “If I couldn’t suspend, I would insist that the school system provide me with alternatives for children who can’t make it in a regular class. None of us are in favor of suspension *per se*. Once we lose a child, that’s it.”²³ Still

²¹Interview with Joseph Silva, Principal, Ingraham Elementary School, New Bedford, Massachusetts, December 7, 1973.

²²Interview with Gerard I. Smith, Superintendent of Schools, New Bedford, Massachusetts, April 26, 1973.

²³Interview with Donald Hale, Principal, Deering High School, Portland, Maine, October, 24, 1973.

another said, “the basic point to remember is that suspension solves very little.”²⁴

Rather than justifying suspension in educational terms, almost every school official we interviewed gave as the principal rationale for suspending children “to get parents in.”²⁵ The success of this technique is dubious since 33 percent of the suspended children we interviewed said they had returned to school without any parent or school conference. Indeed, we found the requirement that a child bring a parent to school as a condition of reinstatement after a suspension resulted in some children losing large amounts of schooling or never returning to school. For example:

Suspended March, 1972, “maladjustment to school program,” continued on suspension pending location of family. Seven months after suspension, they were still trying to find his family.²⁶

This practice of conditioning a child’s return on a parent’s coming in imposes a particular hardship on poor parents who either must work, cannot afford to pay a babysitter to care for other children, or cannot afford or do not have accessible transportation which middle-class parents take for granted.

There are other ways to deal with misbehavior and to communicate with parents. One principal related the following incident when we asked, “Do you have to resort to suspension to get parents to come in to school?” He replied,

Let me tell you what we have done here. We had a kid around here who was really “terrible” and we couldn’t get the mother to come in. When the student slapped a teacher, the dean was ready to throw her out. We called her mother to come to a pre-suspension hearing, but once again she said she couldn’t. So I

²⁴Interview with Philip A. Viso, Principal, Industrial Skills Center, Chicago, Illinois, February 10, 1975.

²⁵See *Children Out of School in America*, Chapter 5, for references from principals.

²⁶See memorandum of Phyllis McClure, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, to Jean Fairfax, “Baltimore Juvenile Justice Project Report,” July 31, 1973, p. 11.

suggested we hold the hearing at the girl's home. At first the dean was against it. No one wanted to go to the child's house, not the dean, the teacher who was slapped, not even Steve [the student ombudsman]. But there was no other way to deal with the situation, so they all went. Everyone learned something from that day. The mother got a firsthand report about her daughter's conduct in school and she realized that these people really cared about her daughter and that she needed to take a more active role in guiding her behavior. The teacher saw conditions of poverty that disgusted her and gave her a feeling for the lives of her students she had never had before. The dean stopped assuming that some parents were apathetic. This woman had no husband and five small children to watch and she really couldn't come to school. And the girl did not get suspended. With all those people caring about her and pressuring her to change, she apologized to the teacher and has improved her behavior considerably since then.

It is true that sometimes it is very difficult, and it is true also that sometimes we misuse parents, but there is no reason why the school can't go out to reach the parents.²⁷

We believe that suspending a child to reach the parent is an insufficient reason to deny a child education. We agree with one principal who has not suspended a child in five years. "I have never suspended a kid. . . . Suspension is a vacation for a kid. It is a means of getting the parents in here. I just call the parents and put the kid on the line."²⁸

A few principals claimed their teachers would not tolerate a ban on suspensions because they needed to be relieved of disruptive students. But this argument is faulty for at least three reasons. First, not all teachers need, favor or use suspension. Our interviews and analysis of school records indicate that it is a minority of teachers who suspend large numbers of students.²⁹ While

most teachers prefer to deal with problems in their classroom alone, some teachers seem to need help in maintaining order. This is especially true of inexperienced teachers or those who are overly rigid.³⁰ In these cases it would seem that in-service training, team teaching and other forms of teacher support are more to the point than is suspending children.

Second, the definitions of what constitutes a disruptive student varies with the teacher. Deprivation of schooling ought not to be dependent on so changeable a yardstick. As one principal noted about demerits, but which applies equally to suspensions: "What one teacher calls disrespect another teacher doesn't. A child could very quickly build up a number of demerits, if he had a certain group of teachers and still not have a clear, consistent view of what was acceptable behavior."³¹

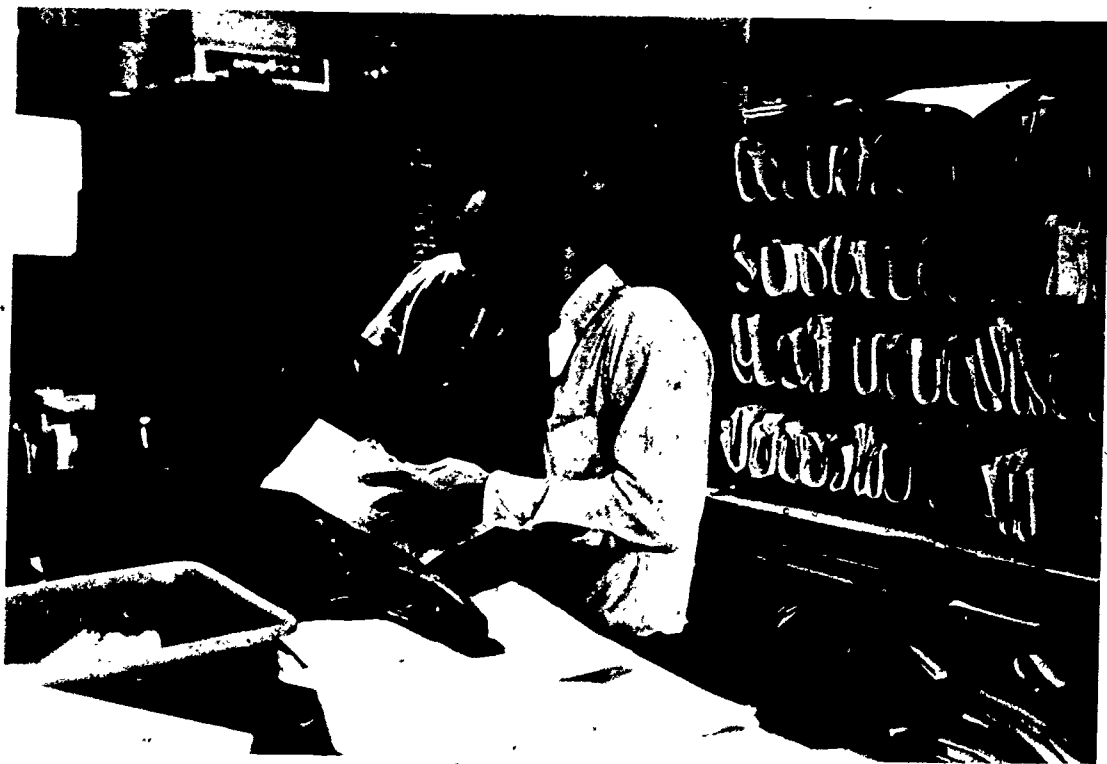
Third, when a teacher needs a safety valve for routine misbehavior problems, there are a host of alternative in- and out-of-school programs which could be established and used instead of suspension.³² For children who have serious and chronic behavior problems, it is even more important to refer them to alternative programs or services which have the ability to diagnose and prescribe treatment for the causes of the misbehavior. Otherwise, the child simply returns to class again with the same problem. As a Spring-

reported 57 students for suspension, while all the other teachers reported 3. In two other schools, the teachers reporting the highest number of students reported 27 and 31 respectively. Less than 10 suspensions were reported by the next highest teachers. At a fourth school, two teachers accounted for all the suspensions—89 in total. See "Short Term Suspension Report, December 2, 1974-January 17, 1975," Columbia, South Carolina, 1975. (Typewritten.)

²⁷See, for discussion of this problem, Alfred Alschuler and John V. Shea, "Discipline Game: Playing Without 'Losers,'" Amherst and Springfield, Massachusetts, October 1973, p. 25. (Typewritten.)

²⁸Interview with Christine Webb, Principal, Hand Middle School, Columbia, South Carolina, March 5, 1975. For the full interview, see Chapter I of this report.

²⁹See Chapter 6 of this report for descriptions of such alternative programs.



field Massachusetts principal who has not suspended a child in eight years commented, suspension is merely "a simple way to put a child out, but it doesn't clear up the problem."¹³

But what about the small percent of violent children in our public schools who commit criminal acts like murder or rape, who carry weapons, push drugs or wantonly destroy school property? Should they be suspended? We think not.

First, the number of truly dangerous and violent children in schools is very small.¹⁴ We raise the issue of violence in schools here *not*

because it causes most school suspensions, but because many people think it does. Our analysis of key statistical sources on school violence, including the most recent and much publicized Bayh committee report,¹⁵ revealed that many of the studies were so methodologically flawed and definitionally ambiguous as to render suspect any conclusions drawn from them. We have concluded that.

First. No one knows how much school violence there is. Like most school record keeping on most things, documentation is extremely haphazard and not uniform. One district may list some offenses as "disruption" and include them in school violence figures while another may not. Earlier studies included political protests against the war in Vietnam, against violations of the

¹³ Interview with John O'Malley, Principal, Lincoln School and Emerson School, Springfield, Massachusetts, December 6, 1973.

¹⁴ National Education Association Opinion Poll of 1,000 Randomly Selected Teachers, described in *Today's Education*, September-October 1974, revealed that over 76 percent of those responding said violence was not a problem in their school; 20 percent said it was a minor problem, and only 3.2 percent said it was a major problem.

Our Nation's Schools-A Report Card "V In-school Violence and Vandalism." Preliminary Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Senate Judiciary Committee, April 1975, p. 3.

¹⁵ See Appendix E for listing of sources for these conclusions.

rights of minorities, and in defense of student liberties as "disruptions" in all cases, even when the protests were legal in every respect. As the frequency of war-related protests drops off, the studies simply drop the category without mentioning the decline in incidence rates. Moreover, school violence data counts violent *events* regardless of whether students are the perpetrators. Indeed, the violent incidents in which enrolled students are either a victim or a participant are a small minority. For example, "Two gunmen on November 29 invade cafeteria of Christ the King High School, Queens, before start of classes and escape with \$1,300" is one entry in New York City's tally of crime in schools including a mixture of other student and nonstudent offenses. As District Superintendent Lee told us: "If two youths get caught holding up a store downtown, the headlines in the news the next day will read 'Two Harrison High School Students Arrested.' They may be students, they may be dropouts, or former students of that high school. But the words 'High School' become permanently appended to their name. Over time, the public just associates this with trouble in schools."

Second. Some studies, including the recent Senate Judiciary Committee-Bayh Committee, report only the percentage increase in the *rates* of disciplinary incidents in schools without reporting the counts or rates of the incidents themselves. As a result, the public learns that murders in school have increased without also learning that the murder rate per 1,000 enrolled students is .005 murders per year which makes school about the safest place for a child to be other than home.

Third. Most school violence studies incorporate vandalism. But most vandalism occurs when school is closed, after school hours, on weekends, during vacations, and not while children are in school. Very few suspensions are for vandalism because it is usually not an internal school discipline problem. All of the studies indicate that major acts of vandalism are committed by intruders and strangers. Vandalism rates do not decrease with greater severity of internal control on enrolled students. One study

states the relationship of vandalism and theft to the problem of school discipline this way.

Non-accidental property damage arises from two main sources that appear to be unrelated to the problem of order among high school students. These exogenous sources are theft-connected damage and damage by nonstudents.³⁶

But we all hear so much about the violence among young people whether or not it takes place in school. And we all hear stories about how afraid teachers are in schools and how intimidated they are to deal with groups of milling students who violate school rules. This fear is perceived by children who commit violence as well as by those who are victimized by it. This in turn breeds more violence. We have no easy answer to the fear. Many of us share it for we have children in school or have taught there ourselves. A first step, however, is to openly come to grips with its presence. Teachers, school administrators, juvenile authorities, parents and students should address the violence problem openly, together, and formulate plans for dealing with it. But finding suitable remedies will require thoughtful, accurate and sensible analysis rather than the wave of fear and overstatement that characterizes much of the current debate about school violence.

Second, most children who commit acts of violence or vandalism are not suspended. They are expelled. Yet the vast numbers of children suspended have become confused in the public mind with the relative handful of enrolled students who commit a chargeable offense.³⁷ This in turn leads to a totally useless emphasis upon stricter application of suspension. Temporarily removing truly dangerous and disturbed children from school with no formal responsibility for them vested in any agency is dangerous to the

³⁶ John W. Meyer, Chris Chase-Dunn and James Iverarity, *The Expansion of the Autonomy of Youth: Responses of the Secondary School to Problems of Order in the 1960's* (Stanford, California: Stanford University, 1971.)

³⁷ A "chargeable offense" is any violation of local, state or federal law.

child and to the community. The solution for these children may not always be found in a public school program alone, but schools pushing them out into the streets, totally unsupervised and without help, should not be tolerated.

The solution to school violence does not lie in more suspensions but less, for its causes are to be found more on the streets, where dropouts, pushouts, and suspended students pass the time among delinquent gangs in arms or drug trade, in the lack of preparation for decent jobs or in the lack of work even when students are trained, and in the rates of illiteracy and its attendant frustration and anger.

Suspensions need to be replaced with fair, educationally sound and effective disciplinary measures. We believe the following steps are necessary to begin that process.

1. *The substantive grounds for suspension must be drastically pruned and punishable offenses redefined so that only situations which pose a direct and serious threat to people or property are causes for temporary exclusion from school.*

2. *School disciplinary rules, policies and procedures, and the range of punishments for breaking them, should be made available to students and parents in writing at the beginning of each school term or year.*

3. *Racial discrimination in school discipline policies and practices must be eliminated immediately through strong local, state and federal action.*

4. *At the very minimum, schools must provide immediate and adequate due process safe-*

guards for students before they are excluded from school.

5. *Schools must begin to provide alternative services and educational programs for those who are not benefiting from regular school programs and therefore may disrupt school life.*

Each of these major recommendations are discussed in detail in the chapters that follow. In Chapter 1, six educators discuss their views about school discipline and relate how they managed to run their schools or districts while curbing or eliminating suspensions. In Chapter 2, we outline the variety of reasons for suspension and discuss how suspension harms children. Chapter 3 presents data on the widespread use of suspension, Chapter 4 is about the particular suspension problems of black children and racial discrimination in the disciplinary process, and it contains our detailed federal compliance proposals to end racial discrimination. Chapter 5 calls for an end to suspension on substantive grounds and discusses due process requirements in suspension cases. In Chapter 6 we describe the results of our visits and conversations with school officials about alternatives to suspension. It is followed by a postscript on effective advocacy for parents and children.

There are no magic formulas for ending school suspension. It will be very hard. It will require thoughtful, painful and nondefensive reexamination by all members of the school community about the necessity and effectiveness of the many reasons for and procedures by which we use suspensions. But if some educators are doing that, we believe that others can and should.

Chapter 1

Educators Talk About Discipline

While this report is critical of overall school performance in the crucial area of discipline, we have found and been impressed with a number of school officials who have taken the initiative and shown the patience, commitment and toughness to work with the most difficult students without frequent resort to suspension. We include in this chapter our interviews with some of them. We know that there are more teachers, principals and superintendents all over the country who are taking similar action and who persist despite apathy, lack of understanding, scarce resources, community hostility and complaining parents. And we applaud them. Internal school leadership is a precondition to the needed change in school supervision policies.

Luther W. Seabrook

When we interviewed Mr. Seabrook in spring, 1975, he had been principal of William O'Shea Intermediate School 44 for five years. The school is on Manhattan's West Side, enrolling some 1,375 sixth through eighth grade students: 45 percent Spanish-speaking, 29 percent black, 20 percent white, and 6 percent Haitian. Prior to his coming to I.S. 44, he had been a teacher and administrator in New York City Schools for 11 years and a principal of the Highland Park Free School in Roxbury, Massachusetts. He is currently the Community Superintendent of District #5 in Manhattan.



Luther W. Seabrook

Steven R. Kaminsky

Steve Kaminsky has been a teacher in the New York City School system for seven years. He began as a health and physical education instructor and then became director of the school's drug rehabilitation program. For the last three years, he has been the Student Ombudsman at I.S. 44. He acts as a student spokesman and helps to mediate student-teacher conflicts.



Steven R. Kaminsky

Q: How do you maintain discipline in a school like this and not suspend vast numbers of children?

SEABROOK: I don't really believe that there is a direct relationship between discipline in the schools and suspensions. But this thinking is relatively new to me. I did feel that suspensions could be used as a way to discipline kids. Unfortunately, we all disregard the rights of the kids. And I did this too. I was sending kids home, and saying, in effect, "Boy, bring your mother back to school." I was getting away with it, and at was working too. But Steve Kaminsky, our Student Ombudsman, finally came to me and said, "Hey, you can't do that." We had an argument about whether I could or could not do it. He pointed out to me how difficult it was for a kid in that position. Of course Steve was right, and I backed down.

Some of my feelings about how to discipline kids come from my feelings about what schools ought to be. To explain what I mean, I think I had better tell you exactly why, or how, I started to get interested in what schools should be all about at an organizational level.

In 1965, I went to work in District 6, Manhattan. I would go from school to school and principals would say to me, "I would have a fantastic school, or a good school, if I could just get rid of Johnny." Teachers would say, "I would have a fantastic class if I could just get rid of Mary." Part of what bothered me was that, even in instances when they did get rid of Johnny and Mary, the following day or the next week there was a different Johnny and a different Mary. Now I think we all know that it's really difficult to run a school smoothly and have children in it. So that what we should do is either get rid of all the kids or start designing new kinds of schools to meet the needs of kids. At least that's what was going through my head. I wrote a proposal where I suggested that we put together a community school. One community school of all the Johnnies and all the Marys, where teachers and parents and students could get together and establish a resource center or a study place for kids, or just a place where everyone could get together

after school and talk about what a school should look like. That proposal, of course, wasn't funded, but I became very interested in the whole concept of community schools. Preston Wilcox of AFRAM came to me and asked if I would be interested in going to Boston and talking to some parents about community schools. I did that. I went there a number of times, meeting with parents. I was finally asked to become principal of the newly designed Experimental Community School. Initially, the parents were interested in the "experimental" part, hoping it would make things happen for the kids in Roxbury. Roxbury, of course, is Boston's Harlem. I was interested in a "community" part of the school. So we got together and, without going too much into it, we got a rather humanistic school. It's still functioning.

At the end of my second year, parents from New York came up and invited me to come down and visit their school in New York. I went to I.S. 44 at West 77th Street and I ran into what I like to call the horror of liberalism. All of the Third World kids didn't really have to go to class if they didn't want to, they were out in the streets, they were in the halls and bathrooms, they were everywhere but in the classroom. No one was very concerned with making any real demands on them. The majority of the white kids, of course, were in the classroom, they were getting their Lessons, and in fact, they were going on to the special high schools in New York. Bronx Science, Stuyvesant, Music and Art, Performing Arts, and so on.

Another horror that I witnessed was that I saw the white kids were really paying tuition to come to school each day. And the black kids were collecting. It's called extortion. I started to understand something, that is, these black kids were being programmed into the Atticas and Sing Sing while the white kids were being programmed into the Harvards and Yales. Many of the black kids really didn't have a choice, they almost had to be a part of that kind of thing. Now, the net effect of that kind of programming is that the future of the kids is being predetermined by the kind of racist society that we live in. And the question is, can we change that society? That's exactly what we intended to do.

Part of what I found was that the white kids were giving money just out of fear. It had nothing to do with being held up. I saw both kids as being victims victims of the viciousness that is brought about by the greater society in terms of how black people are expected to behave, and how white people should respond to that behavior.

One of the things I did was try to speak to some of the white kids and say: "You're just as responsible as the black kid is. In fact, if you're operating out of a position of fear and you're willing to give everything, even before you're asked for it, in some instances, what you're doing is programming that kid into Attica. I feel that you owe that kid a little more than that."

What I did, initially, was to suspend both kids, but I would tell both of them to go and get their parents and set up a mutual time when we all could meet. At that conference there was some talking about the responsibility of each of us to the other. I found that some of the black parents were horrified; they had never, never thought that their kids would be involved in something like this. I might add that white parents were relieved to find that black parents didn't expect this kind of behavior from their kids. Some dialogue would take place, and we were able to stop that practice in this school. Now I know that there exists some mutuality of respect for different life styles among the youngsters at I.S. 44.

Q: What about discipline inside the school?

SEABROOK: I found when I walked through the school that many of the classes were being disrupted. There had been no strategy developed within the school to do anything about the low reading scores. There had been very little done about making the school more humanistic and certainly there was no school-wide strategy to bring this about. Classes were either very hard and rigid or they were laissez-faire, and it seemed to me that there was very little regard for what many of the students actually were doing. And we know that kids react to what they feel.

We had a dean who was a provocateur. He attempted many times to provoke those kids who

did not behave in the way that he felt they should behave. When provoked some kids would behave in a way that would allow him to "get something on them." Then, of course, those kids would be recommended for suspension. We just couldn't allow youngsters to be suspended arbitrarily. Kids hated the dean. The dean, in fact, had little respect for many of the Third World kids. In fact, he had little or no respect at all for anyone whose life style was different from his life style. Many times you would hear that the dean was stating that the kids threatened to kill him. I think we know that kids issue threats and really and truly don't mean them.

I did have a youngster come in, though, who really and truly almost convinced me he meant to kill the dean. I talked to the kid and I told him. "Okay, you want to go ahead and kill him, fine. Do it, go on to prison and spend the rest of your life there. But maybe there's another way of doing it. You can go back to class and get your head together, go on and get out of here, go on to high school, go on to college, get into medical school. Who knows, someday you may become a brain surgeon. Then one day you'll look down, and say, 'Here comes that guy.' If you're really going to kill him, that's the way to do it. Do it on the operating table twenty-five or thirty years from now." The kid laughed and went out. I never heard about that incident again. There's a way of dealing with kids at their level of understanding, starting with the interests or problems they come in with. This is a technique that I got from a friend of mine in Ohio, Art Thomas. I can think of no one who is more into where kids' heads are than Art.

KAMINSKY: We don't have a dean this year. Although we had one for years, Mr. Seabrook felt the position was no longer necessary. When we had a dean, we were constantly role-playing. He was the prosecutor, I was the attorney, and Mr. Seabrook was the judge. We used to play this game all the time. The feeling around school about discipline has changed now. We realize that this isn't the way it has to be all the time. The assistant principals, who know the student's

classes and academic work, are now mainly responsible for handling discipline. They're more flexible, and they can arrange for class changes or see the causes of disruptive behavior more easily than the dean could.

SEABROOK: There's no question in my mind that the values the kids bring to school and the values the teachers bring to school are almost in total contradiction. A clash is built into the system. The whole idea of this school was to lessen that clash. We had a student lounge where any kid could go instead of having a confrontation with a teacher in class. We would talk to the kid and to the teacher, find out what could be done instead of suspending the kid. Now Steve serves that function.

KAMINSKY: Before Mr. Seabrook came here, there was a great deal of hostility and anger even a feeling of physical endangerment among some of the teachers and students. The school had some traditional guidance people, but there weren't enough to provide counseling, and besides, they wanted more of a student advocate or spokesman. Mr. Seabrook selected me as the student ombudsman to be their advocate.

I was a health and physical education teacher here and when we were funded for a drug program, I was selected to organize it. We had a team of three people—a Spanish-speaking male, a black female and a black male, all neighborhood youth workers who could relate well to the kids. After a while, the kids were coming to us not only for drug problems, but with home and school problems as well. During the course of our talks we also started talking about some of the teachers. A student might say, "You know, this teacher picks on me, he only picks on me, and he doesn't pick on anybody else. I think he's prejudiced and hates black kids." I would then sit down with the student and the teacher (just the three of us) and we would talk. During that conversation, the teacher would see the kid in a different light and also the kid would see the teacher in a different way. Very rarely does the teacher have the opportunity to sit down with the student on an individual basis and really talk to

him. My arranging the meeting and sitting there in the initial stages was usually enough. Many times I would walk out once I saw that a new relationship was developing.

When Mr. Seabrook made me student ombudsman, this facilitator role became formal. I could try to help teachers handle kids and I am successful because the kids trust me. There are some kids who just can't sit in a classroom for forty minutes, and there are some kids who can't stay in classes from nine to twelve. So if they need a break, they will ask to speak to Steve.

Q: What do you do when kids come to you with problems the school can't handle?

KAMINSKY: I have established an excellent referral system for the medical and psychological needs of our students. We have many students with heart conditions, sickle cell anemia, drug problems, venereal disease and many other physical ailments. In addition, there are a number of students who are in need of family planning and others who have many emotional problems. I am allowed to make appointments for our students during the day at our neighborhood hospital. The hospital knows that the students will keep the appointment because either I or one of the youth workers will accompany the student to the hospital and sit with him or her until a doctor comes. For psychological needs, we have the Westside Mental Health Center which has a storefront right around the corner. Whenever we need their services, we can always count on them, especially if there is a crisis. Sometimes a whole family may need help, I know I can't always help, but I can refer the family to the center.

I think it's crucial for a school to make liaisons with other community resources. Some teachers are on ego trips. They think they can do everything. I know I can't, but I try to help these kids using as many agencies in the community as I can.

SEABROOK: Once a teacher came in and wanted a kid to be suspended because the kid yelled an obscenity at her in front of the whole class. The kid said that the teacher had called her stupid. What the teacher didn't understand was

that the kid had a very low reading score, didn't know what was going on in the classroom, so was being a little disruptive. When the teacher said, "You're behaving in a rather stupid way," the kid heard the teacher calling her stupid, which probably reinforced what the kid felt anyway. So they had an explosion.

They came in here, and I said, "I don't know what to do. Maybe I can give a five-day suspension for the kid and a three-day suspension for you, but instead I wish you two could work it out." They did. They both went back to class and apologized to each other. That's happened more and more; it's sort of catching on. Teachers' attitudes are becoming, "you might cause me to stumble a bit, but I'm going to keep working."

Q: Many principals have said that they would end suspensions, but their teachers wouldn't stand for it.

SEABROOK: That's not true. But if they end suspensions, they need to have alternatives for teachers to use in cases of disruption. For example, we used to have a lot of hostility because some kids would say, "I flunked because she didn't like me. I did all my work." When you asked the teacher why the student flunked, she would answer, "He didn't do all his work." What criteria were used to pass or fail? To minimize this conflict, we started to use learning contracts, where the teachers, kids and parents all agree on what a term's work would be and they all sign the contract. At the end of a term, there is something specific to talk about if a kid fails. In the last couple of years, we haven't had one student come in and say I failed because a teacher didn't like me.

You also need to provide a variety of academic programs within a school. Hopefully, every educator feels that every kid should be in an

educational program in which he can function. We move kids around from one program to another until we find a person, group or learning style that is suitable.

KAMINSKY: Our school is broken into several sub-schools. For example, kids in the eighth grade choose majors which they are interested in, and their program is constructed around them. We also have trilingual school for our French and Spanish students. In addition, we have a Learning Center for the kids who need special work in reading. We also have a terrific Open Classroom program for those students who function best in that type of environment. Across the street in the basement of church, we have a teacher and parent aides in a program for twenty youngsters who could not make it in our building and required individual attention. For other kinds of discipline problems, the district has something called Open Door to which we make referrals if everything else fails.

Q: What do you think was important in creating the alternatives and changing the attitudes and tone of the school?

KAMINSKY: I think the real educational control comes from the top, from the principal. Here Mr. Seabrook has turned the school around. The first year that he was here, we almost had a riot, and the police had to be called into the school. The whole issue of the relationship of the school to the community and the quality of education was highly volatile. Under Mr. Seabrook's leadership, things changed. Parents and community are encouraged to be an active force in the school. As you drive up and down this neighborhood, you may see lots of kids on the street, but mostly they're not our kids. Ours are inside the school.



Philip A. Viso

Joseph W. Lee

Joseph W. Lee is superintendent of District 19, encompassing 25 schools enrolling 23,000 children in Chicago. Mr. Lee, employed by the Chicago Public Schools for more than 18 years, has served as a teacher, staff assistant and principal.

Q: Chicago suspended over 28,000 children in 1972-73. How do schools see their responsibility toward them and what would you like to see if you had the resources to work with those children?

LEE: We're involved in some things in this district that I think may be responsive partly to what you're saying. One of them would be the Alternative Program which is currently operating in the Froebel Branch of Harrison High School. This program exposes youngsters to a work-study arrangement. One of the things that leads to suspension is the feeling of alienation on the part of the youngster. The regular school may not provide those experiences that he or she believes to be useful. One of the very obvious

Philip A. Viso

Philip A. Viso, a veteran of over 20 years in the Chicago Public Schools, is currently director of the Industrial Skills Center, a school for young men ages 16 to 20 who have dropped out or been kicked out of the regular school system. The Center enrolls 350 such students, largely Black or Hispanic, in its half-academic, half-vocational program. A more complete description of this effective school is found in Chapter 6 of this report. Since our interview, Mr. Viso has been appointed to the principalship of Washburn Trade School in Chicago.



Joseph W. Lee

ways, then, by which schools can remedy this is through work-study programs. The point is that students must see a direct connection between what they are doing in school and the real world in which they exist. To force them to fit into a structure that has little significance to their lives is insensitive and fails to meet their needs.

Another program is the Outpost Program. It's an academic program, but there's a heavy emphasis on trying to respond to the immediate problem that the youngster brings to school. For example, suppose a youngster witnessed a fight between his mother and his father the night before. He comes to the traditional high school and there is no one available to counsel him. His program indicates a certain pattern of classes that day (English, Science, etc.) yet his concerns

are personal and immediate. Of course, there are counselors at the high school, but more are needed. Frequently, the schedules of those on duty are filled so there is no immediate response to a student's need.

At the Outpost, however, the youngster comes into school and if he's really disturbed about something, the teachers will adjust the day's schedule of activities. They can rearrange their schedule so that one person works with the class while another can listen and counsel this young man who has had some difficulty. I think this is another way in which schools can respond positively and prevent someone with problems from "acting out," getting into difficulty and ultimately being suspended.

Q: Do you believe in suspensions? Do you think it is necessary to have them as part of the school routine?

LEE: No, I do not support suspensions and I have prohibited their use in my district. I think that there is a better way. In some of the districts in this city, for example, there are District Diagnostic Centers, which strike me as being an excellent alternative to suspension. Youngsters who are identified as having problems, whatever those problems might be—emotional, physical, mental—can go there and receive proper diagnosis and treatment that will hopefully prevent a serious confrontation in the classroom. Not every youngster who is suspended is suffering from some special education problem. I think, however, that one of the primary purposes of the diagnostic centers is to identify those who do have those problems. The basic point to remember is that suspensions solve very little. Removing the youngster from the school may provide temporary relief to the staff, but it does little, if anything, toward resolving the problem that led to the student performing in a manner that would cause a suspension.

There's another part of the discipline problem. It's one thing to not like something a student does and it's quite another to make it a suspension issue. For example, I don't like wearing hats in the building and, as a principal, I took steps to discourage this practice. I feel that the

staff of a school, in concert with the community and students, should establish rules of behavior which ought to obtain. The problem is: How do you go from the statement of what you think is right or wrong to the next step of enforcing it? I think what happens too often is that administrators unilaterally decide what is right or wrong for their particular building and then use suspensions to uphold those decisions.

VISO: There's another way of resolving the problem of maintaining order in the school and that is to make the students feel that they are part of the school family, which is a part of the community, and that they share in the responsibility for what happens. Let me give you an example. Last week, two young men were fighting in the hall of our school. Some other students broke up the fight and brought the fighters to my office. I didn't ask them what the fight was about or for their side of the story. I merely pointed out in a lengthy conversation how the value of their diploma, which would decide if and what kind of a job they would get, depended on the image employers and the public had of their school. If employers saw the school as a place where fighting, theft and vandalism was commonplace, could they be expected to hire students from it? Over a period of time, how much would their diploma be worth? How could they depreciate their diploma after working so hard to get it? Were they willing to hurt their classmates and their younger brothers who one day would follow them?

They shook hands and went back to class. I am not concerned about blaming or punishing them for misconduct. I *am* interested in making them see how their behavior affects their future and the future of their community.

Q: Some people have said that we cannot reduce suspensions because then schools would become even more violent, dangerous places for children. What do you think?

LEE: That's a profoundly misguided view of children and schools. Schools have been, for a long time, among the safest places in a student's life. I'm speaking particularly for inner-city

youngsters. We know that schools are always being held up as a place where there is violence. But I think that what happens many times is that the school is not where the violence takes place but that the youngster is identified as a student of a given school. A case in point, a youngster is involved in a stabbing or a robbery downtown. If he is a high school student, he will be identified as such in all the news reports of the incident. "Student of Harrison High School" will become an appendage to his name. You read that and the reaction is "Oh, there's more trouble up there at Harrison."

Q: It is true that much of the violence involving children happens outside of the schools, but there are problems like fighting that happen inside schools. Is there a better way to deal with this than by suspension?

VISO: It seems to me that it might be helpful to consider the different perspective that an inner-city community has of its school and other "establishment" organizations as opposed to the perspective that a more privileged community has of its institutions. A youngster in a poor community looks upon a policeman or a teacher as an authority figure to be feared. A youngster growing up in a more privileged community looks upon a policeman or a teacher as a friend, a helper. Maybe the incidence of violence can be reduced if we can change the institutions and their image. That is, where they are repressive, change them. Where they are non-responsive, make them responsive. I think that youngsters have responded violently to the schools because they have not seen those institutions as being a significant part of their community. For example, if an elementary school has a mean reading score for its graduates of 4.5, one doesn't have to be too bright to understand that this institution is really not doing the kind of job that it's supposed to do. After repeated failure, it's understandable that people would not hold that institution in high esteem and if angered, will see it as the place to hurt.

LEE: We are trying to change the quality and image of our schools in a number of ways. First, a school obviously has to develop academic excellence. So we have begun to take a very serious look at the reading success. We talk, for example, about building self-esteem, but if youngsters can't read, their self-esteem isn't going to be very high. Another of our concerns has been to develop a respect for one's own culture, whether it's black, brown, white, yellow or red. The point is that schools must be viewed by the people as an asset to the community.

VISO: About 12 years ago, I was an assistant principal at a school where we were concerned about the high rate of truancy: "Why don't they come to school everyday?" we would ask. My perspective was that there wasn't an effective way to force students to come to school. If you publicized the fact that a "streaker" would be in the school at 8:00 a.m., all the students would probably be there. The point is that school has to be interesting for students. If you recognize what you're competing with out on the street, recognize what the problems are in the home, address yourself to these needs, and come up with a better product, the student will make a sensible judgment as to where it's best for him to be. The students the schools serve are continually making choices and the fact that students earn a diploma in school isn't always enough to make them attend. The student must feel that school is more valuable than the street.

Q: How do you get teachers to be flexible and energetic enough to make classes that interesting?

VISO: My belief is that a teacher must feel what he does will make the world a better place in which to live. He must be like a priest or a dedicated surgeon. Dedication, I know, is an over-used term but it is crucial to teaching. A teacher must enjoy the subject he is teaching. He must love children. He must recognize that his caring about people is going to rub off on the child in some way and that the child will care about somebody else. These are the attitudes I look for and try to reinforce in my teachers.

LEE: That's an interesting point. Many times the teachers we might identify as being the best—those with the most detailed lesson plans or the most beautiful bulletin boards—may not be the

ones the students really respect. The real question should be, What is the product? How does the student feel about the teacher? What has he received from his experience?

Christine Webb

A lifelong resident of Columbia, South Carolina, and a product of its public educational system, Ms. Webb was, at the time of our interview, principal of Hand Middle School, enrolling 785 children, approximately half white and half black, in the sixth through eighth grades. She is Secretary for the South Carolina Association of Student Councils and Administrative Advisor for Discipline for the school district. The senior class at Columbia High School now awards the Christine Webb Humanitarian Award each year to a teacher or a student who has love for and faith in people. Beginning in Fall 1975, Ms. Webb will be principal of Columbia High School.



Q: Could you describe your work in the central office?

WEBB: The job, "Administrative Advisor for Discipline," took me into the schools to work with individual teachers, at the principals' request, to develop better ways to handle disruptive students. I have had a meeting with the assistant principals or the disciplinarians every two weeks to review procedures and policies to help eliminate the need for suspensions.

With their help I am making a study of types of classroom discipline problems and trying to determine factors influencing them. Each school has been asked to submit to me at the end of every six-week period a statistical report enumerating kinds of discipline problems referred to the office by teachers, the number of cases by time of day and the day of the week, the number of cases referred by each teacher and the number of student repeaters.

These reports have already revealed one pattern of behavior. A school within the city has found that Monday is the day on which the

greatest number of cases is referred. Students in the city often bring with them to school on Monday the community quarrels and tensions which develop during the weekend. On the other hand, a school in a rural area of this district finds Monday its quietest day.

I also have been meeting monthly with a group of teachers from the middle, junior and senior high schools in the district. These teachers have good classroom situations, are flexible in handling the students and have a good atmosphere for learning in their classrooms. We have worked on a school referral form to be used throughout the district. The purpose of the referral form is to have the teacher do more about contacting the home before the teacher refers the student to the office for suspension. There is a place to check whether the teacher had a conference with the parents, or to put the date when he called the parents or the date when he counseled the student, and to report what else he has done to help the student. Only after all those things are done does the form go to the office and is the child considered for a suspension.

One of the disciplinarians commented the other day about the difference it has made in his school; it has greatly reduced the number of cases being referred to him. He said a teacher who had never called a child's home before had called because she had to call before she could refer the child to the office. She was elated at the positive response that she had received. Nine times out of ten the teacher gets this kind of response from the home. We hope the referral form will help teachers do all that is possible before they resort to suspending a child. We also plan to do more in-service workshops for discipline in the middle and junior high schools. In some of them, I spent whole mornings with the faculty and we talked about behavior and what teachers could do with students instead of sending them to the office. The principal of one school told me that the work that we started that day had continued all year. His teachers had become interested in what they could do and they were continuing to work together to help students.

Q: Is it true that teachers don't get together enough to talk about a particular problem to plan how they can deal with it more effectively?

WEBB: This is true. At the first meeting in early September with a group of experienced teachers, they stated that in order to change patterns of behavior we would have to begin with the teachers. This was *their* comment, not mine. They felt there had to be some in-service sessions on discipline and that some time in faculty meetings should be devoted to group work to help the teacher see what could be done. Nothing the experienced teachers studied in college had helped with this. The skill needed is one in human relations, and largely it comes from experience.

These experienced teachers helped me to develop an in-service program for a large group of college students assigned as student teachers within our district. The teachers asked me to place strong emphasis on three factors which they consider the basis of classroom control: planning and organizing for instruction, consistency in the teacher's behavior, and maintenance of the teacher's poise and self-control at all times.

Q: Do you have any views on the demerit system that some schools use in which you

accumulate so many demerits and, regardless of the nature of the offense, you're out for two days?

WEBB: I'm opposed to the demerit system. I would like very much to work out a merit system recognition for things that have been done well and done right. We should give the child some kind of reward or some sort of pat on the back for good behavior. The trouble with a demerit system is that it is just like class grades. They vary tremendously with the teacher's interpretations. What one teacher calls disrespect another teacher doesn't. A child could very quickly build up a number of demerits if he had a certain group of teachers and still not have a clear, consistent view of what was acceptable behavior.

Q: How do you get the principals to change their attitudes toward school discipline or support for teachers?

WEBB: I think the way to get anybody to change anything is through a discussion with questions and answers. I've worked for years with student council persons. I've always told them that when they want to be persuasive they should use questioning and discussion. They should not argue because then a person builds a wall and he defends what he believes. I think there could be in-service sessions for principals. And if there is leadership provided at the superintendent level, a sort of district-wide philosophy against unwarranted suspension, I think the principals would strive harder to find ways to punish other than to suspend. I think the principal is crucial in maintaining order. As I have often said, whatever atmosphere is in a principal's office is generally that within the building. It has to be stable. Sometimes principals resort to hasty measures to create that stability. When there are large schools with rezoning, with the teachers not knowing all the students by name and the principals not even knowing all the teachers at the beginning of the year, the principal may try to ensure stability by tight control. I really believe this is why we have had such a mushrooming of suspensions.

I think that the principal as the leader of the school must provide the guiding philosophy under which the faculty members must work. If the principal can concentrate on building a sense

of pride of belonging to the school, then many of the discipline problems will be prevented.

Look how many adults you know who go to conventions out of town and do things that they would never do in their own home towns. The same thing is true with students, especially in the larger cities. Nobody knows them, so they try to get by with things. With the loss of a sense of community, or pride in belonging to a particular school, trouble is bound to follow. Anytime you can call a person by name, he is far less likely to do something that would be wrong.

Q: Even in a large group, you can make an effort to get to know the students, their parents and perhaps something about their problems?

WEBB: Yes, I suppose the teachers in this school probably call home more than in any other school I've ever seen. This certainly has a great effect on the student. He knows that whatever he does someone at home is going to find out about it. That is the first step in handling any sort of behavior problem, letting the child know that the parents and the school are together.

Q: Do you feel that the school has the obligation to initiate that contact?

WEBB: Yes, I think the school has to initiate it because this is where the problem becomes evident. If it is something the school needs to talk with parents about, it is something that happened in the school. Therefore, the school should contact the parent and let the parent know. A child does not always act at school the way he acts at home. Some children are very quiet in one place and very boisterous at another. The parent is often really surprised by the child's behavior in school. How could the parent know to contact the school about this? On the other hand, if the parent knows there is a problem, the parent should call or come in.

Q: What is your philosophy regarding disciplining students?

WEBB: I think discipline begins with a person's knowing that he is somebody, that he is important to himself and to others. In order to have this kind of feeling in a school, teachers and

administrators must let each child know that he or she is important as an individual, even though he or she may have different tastes and interests. They have to be ready to listen. When you establish the kind of environment in which a student is free to come to see you with problems and you sit and work with him, then there is growth. Whenever there is growth, then self-discipline is being learned.

Q: Do most principals share your philosophy?

WEBB: There is a range. I think there are still a few of the authoritarian kind who believe, "You do as I say. I say to do it, and that's why you do it!" I think we go from that to those who really want to find ways to help students, to teach them to be reasonable and to respect the rights of others in the school.

Q: Other than the referral forms you mentioned earlier, how have you worked with teachers on the issue of discipline?

WEBB: As I said, we've run several in-service programs. One afternoon we spent two hours in role plays of different discipline situations. One teacher played a teacher while the other teachers played the students. The rest of us would watch and then suggest other possible ways in which that situation could have been handled. After several were tried, we talked about which would have been better for the growth and self-development of the child.

Q: How do you define "discipline problems"?

WEBB: At the middle school level, most of the "discipline problems" are those within the classroom. Maybe a student doesn't have his materials, he talks too much, he can't sit still, he does these things that a teacher calls disruptive. In a sense it's just what I would call "nuisance" kinds of things. Some children use language that is repugnant to the teacher, who didn't grow up using that kind of language. These are the kinds of things in this age group that the teachers consider discipline problems.

To me, the real problem comes when we don't respond to these disruptions in ways that will help the children to grow. As long as you can

reason with them and help them figure out what they did wrong and how to change, then to me it is not a serious discipline problem.

I think that some "discipline problems" come from cultural differences which certainly go beyond race. Things that are accepted now, talked about publicly or on television, are different from those when teachers were growing up. The children who bring into the school the language and the values they have received outside can be seen as discipline problems to the people who don't have these values and don't approve of them. Some teachers are more flexible than others in accepting these deviations from what they would consider the norm.

Q: If you had to estimate the different causes of the discipline problems, how would you break it down?

WEBB: Children are naturally active physically, so they're going to scuffle with each other. To me this is normal behavior, not a real discipline problem. I would say that by far the greatest percentage of real problems comes from unhappy home situations. The child brings his frustrations to school and he becomes rebellious because he thinks that nobody loves him. Parents divorce, remarry and neither mother nor father will have the child. The child goes to live with an aunt. Even the aunt doesn't want the child and puts the child out. What else can the child do but come to school, where he really has more freedom to be himself than he does anywhere else, and not be rebellious?

As I said, we work a great deal with the homes, and we have found that if the home backs us, the problem is resolved quickly. The teachers here do a great deal of calling at night. We tell the parents what the problem is, and we try to give the parents the responsibility for dealing with their children about it. We'll say, "Your son is cutting class. The punishment is yours. We want him in school. Can you help us?"

Q: Are there situations in which you do suspend children?

WEBB: Well, I would reach a limit with one

kind. Whenever a child becomes physically violent, so that other people in the school are threatened, he is removed from the school temporarily. Others, while not dangerous, need to come out of the classroom temporarily because they are demanding so much attention that they are disturbing the class to the point that nobody else can learn. This too is a limitation. But suspending for things like cutting classes is just really rewarding a child. That's what he wants in the first place. It's just the same as with people who, after they've been on an alcoholic binge, come back and the problem is still there. They haven't eliminated their problem. If you suspend a child for some problem, when he comes back he brings his problem with him; the problem is still there. You haven't solved a thing. My philosophy is that you try everything else in the world first, working with the parents, maybe giving other types of punishment within the school.

I think the finest thing that could happen to us would be to have a resource psychologist in the building. If we could pull students out of their classes, not out of school, sometimes for just two weeks and put them under professional care, we might be able to help some of them. Many times teachers will try to counsel students, but they are not psychologists and it's dangerous to try to start analyzing children if you're not trained to do so.

One plan which I suggested last fall to the assistant principals as an alternative to suspension is that of in-school suspension. This plan is in operation now in several schools in our district. One room in the building is set up for this purpose. Teachers volunteer to give up their planning periods in order to supervise the students, who remain in the room all day. Students do regular class work assigned by each department. They stay busy, but they dislike the physical inactivity of the self-contained classroom and the separation from their friends. While this approach may seem negative, students, hopefully, learn a valuable lesson. They learn that a person must discipline himself in order to be accepted as part of a group and that without this self-discipline his life may be one of either physical or social isolation.

Kenneth W. Haskins

The Morgan Community School, enrolling 750 black elementary school children in Washington, D.C., was one of the first efforts at community control in education and Ken Haskins was its leader. Since then he has been the dean of Howard University's School of Social Work and Vice/Superintendent of Schools in Washington, D.C. He is currently a Lecturer and Research Associate at the Harvard Graduate School of Education.



Q: When you were principal of the Morgan School, you made changes in many procedures. How did you handle school discipline?

HASKINS: First of all I listened to the parents and staff. They wanted kids to have more freedom, to go to the bathroom by themselves, to get rid of a lot of arbitrary rules and regulations. The black parents wanted me to make sure their kids were in school every day, and they didn't want their kids to be brutalized. They'd give permission to hit their kids, but they wanted you to like their kids, to respect them.

I said that I agreed with them. I said from the beginning that I wouldn't hit kids and that I expected that teachers hitting kids would have no place in the school. I also said that if teachers had a habit of hitting that would be hard to break immediately, they could not ask me to back them. If they hit kids, they would have to take the responsibility for that. And if a parent came to me saying that a teacher hit his kid, the only thing I promised is that I would show the parent how to find the teacher.

Teachers would send lots of kids to my office. I asked my secretary how much of the paperwork the last principal did could she do. She said, "90 percent." So I said, "All of that; you do." So I had more time to spend with the students and teachers. When a kid came to my office, even if I was sitting with visitors, I would say, "Excuse

me," and I would take the kid right back to the class he came from. I'd say to the teacher "What's the problem that you can't work out?" "Well, he said so and so," she'd say, I'd ask the kid, "Is that right?" He'd say, "Yes," and I would ask the teacher what she wanted him to do. "Well, at least he can apologize." I would ask him to apologize, and he'd say no. So I'd say, "Look, why can't you two talk it out and get him to apologize. If he apologizes because I tell him to, that won't do anything. I'll watch your classroom while you two talk it over." And they'd talk and they'd come back into the room together. After a while, teachers began to work out things for themselves.

The school was divided into teams: We had two groups each of five to seven year olds, six to eight year olds and seven to nine year olds. A seven year old could be in any one of six groups. If one team had trouble with a kid, I'd say, "Send him to another teacher." Sometimes teachers would resist that, saying it was a challenge. But I'd tell them. "You don't need that kind of challenge and you don't need to get along with everybody. Who told you you have to get along with everybody?" Sometimes they'd say that the kid has to learn to get along with everybody. But that's crazy. Nobody has to get along with everybody. Once teachers didn't feel it was a bad mark against them if they couldn't get along with every kid, things became easier.

When we changed all these rules, there was a period of about a month-and-a-half or two when kids were all over the place. You cannot take a group of children who have been treated badly and say you are going to treat them nicely, without having a period of time in which they give back to you all of the treatment that was given to them. I was frightened during that period. There were nights when I didn't sleep. But I knew that if I could last on through that period things would quiet down. And they did. The kids began to catch on and to really understand.

Q: We found such a small percentage of students who were truly violent. Was that your experience?

HASKINS: The school psychologist had a list of 200 kids who had "serious" problems. I recognized only 3 kids on the list. None of the others really needed special services.

Q: What did you do with the 3?

HASKINS: They were part of the school's community. They were ours. They presented problems. But if the parents wanted us to keep their kids, they had to accept the fact that we'd have problems. One of the myths that schools have left unchallenged, that does them a disservice, is that there should be no problems in the school. So I said to parents that we'd keep everybody but they needed to understand the consequences of that.

Q: How would you define school discipline?

HASKINS: I think the rules of your school define a discipline problem. If you do not have a rule that a kid has to stay in his seat, then getting out of a seat is not a discipline problem. If you have a rule that there is no talking in class, if you talk you are a discipline problem. We tried to see if we could live without rules that were particularly school rules.

Q: Did you have a standard discipline code?

HASKINS: No, we didn't have a written discipline code. I don't think they are fair. Let me give you an example. There were two kids fight-

ing. One of them came from another school where someone was always beating him up. His mother used to tell him not to fight, she was a follower of Martin Luther King. Finally she told him, if anybody bothers you, then you just hit him back. The other kid in the fight had been picking on him a long time. The first day that he decided to hit the kid back, they both got punished. That's not fair. The first kid deserved praise for finally standing up for himself. You are not able to do that following a written code.

You have to look at kids individually. I have had kids take quarters from kids because they desperately needed lunch money and kids who take quarters from kids because it is a habit. Do you treat them all the same?

Q: No, but without a written discipline code how do you avoid unfair or racist discipline practices?

HASKINS: When you really get to know your kids, those things are not necessary. They are only necessary in an impersonal institution where people either don't like you or don't care about you. If you have principals who hate kids and want to kick them out, then rules are necessary. But that's a different question.

Q: Could you have avoided the first month-and-a-half of chaos?

HASKINS: No, I really don't think that institutions that need radical change—which is what schools need—can be changed without a period of chaos. And the worst thing is that no one—parents, teachers, no one—no matter how much they say that they want change, is willing to go through a period of chaos. If I wanted to change Boston, I would suggest closing down the schools for a period of time, for a year. They need a whole new definition, even though it might mean that no one there now would have a job, and that you'd have to deal with kids roaming around for the year. That's the price that you have to pay for years of neglect. But these institutions are so rigid that if you try to change them little by little, nothing fundamental will happen.

Q: What were the fears in the school?

HASKINS: People ask for change and yet they are afraid of the change. That is a kind of Catch-22. And they believe funny things about children. They'll say about how you've handled a seriously disturbed child, for example, "If you are going to let him get away with that, then all the other kids will want to do that too." As sick as he is, no other kid wants to be that way. And kids get security knowing that when a kid is in need you will pay attention, that you as an adult, will be there.

Q: How do you deal with people who think like that about kids?

HASKINS: I think principals are crucial. Teachers are still hungry to be the kind of teacher that they wanted to be when they got out of graduate school. They feel the leadership that's been exerted on them has prevented them from being that. They should be given the freedom, just like the kids, to have the responsibility for themselves. I had one teacher who heard herself screaming at the kids, and she didn't like the sound. She used to say that the reason she was screaming at kids was because the principal was screaming at her. With no one yelling at her, she found she was still screaming. She decided that she didn't want to be that kind of person.

Teachers have to be willing to take the responsibility. I had a teacher who was crazy about dramatics. She was the language arts teacher. I tried to encourage her to forget about the books and the grammar and to make the whole thing dramatics. It took me three months to convince her that I meant that she could do it. When she did, she was happy, the kids were reading better in class better than anybody else's class.

Q: What did you finally do about suspensions and expulsions?

HASKINS: During the two years that I was there, we did not suspend or expel any child. Neither did we have in-school suspensions, nor crisis rooms, nor special classes, nor anything of that sort. The idea that we tried to develop, once

we decided that the school belonged to the community, was the concept of inclusion rather than that of exclusion. All of our services then were used to try to keep children in school and within the flow of things that happened in school, rather than to separate them out from one another. We had completely heterogeneous classes, and as I mentioned earlier, children could be in a variety of groups. Children were free to move around the school, and everyone was prepared to help children with any problem that they might be having at a particular time. So that if there was a crisis, we tried to solve it at the point where the crisis took place with the people that were involved in the crisis, rather than separating the child out, and trying to solve the problem some place other than where the problem occurred. The reason is that, most of the time, the separation is more to remove the problem that it presents to other people than really to solve it for the particular child. You can take the use of the principal's office, for example. We finally reached the point where teachers did not send children to the principal's office for disciplinary purposes. However, the principal's office was open to everyone and many times children came to the office on their own in order to seek help with problems that they might be facing. That's a very different use of the principal's office. Some kids would come when they were particularly tense and wanted to be in the office to relax until they felt better and then return to class. There were never any questions asked unless the child appeared to be in distress which would evoke some question that expressed sympathy or concern.

Basically, we tried to develop a school that was a place where people could live with each other. All who were there were members of that school, and it was all of our responsibility to make those adjustments that were necessary, either temporarily or on a long-term basis, to accommodate each other, so that the question of discipline never really fit very clearly into those terms. Everything we did centered around how we were behaving with each other, so that everything we did was disciplinary in that sense. But, on the other hand, actions were not taken that excluded people from the community. Action was not

taken that hurt other people without some comment being made. This, in essence, became our concept of discipline with the added knowledge that different acts meant different things with

different people. Behavior had to be defined in personal frameworks rather than in rules without any flexibility.



Chapter 2

Why Children are Suspended and What it Means to Them

Many school systems keep no or exceedingly poor records of the reasons children are suspended. There are no national summaries of suspension data with reliable, uniform categories or definitions of offenses. Most school superintendents still do not know in detail why principals in their own districts suspend children. As a result, public imagination has filled in this information vacuum with myths about why children are suspended. Specifically, many people assume that most children are suspended for (1) committing serious offenses involving violence to some other teacher or student or destruction of school property and (2) committing such serious disruptions that it is impossible for the educational process to continue. Neither are true.

Most Children are Suspended for Nondangerous Offenses

In our own survey we asked children, and their parents, the reasons causing their suspension. While 36.6 percent were for "fighting," only 1.6 percent involved fights with teachers or other school personnel. The overwhelming majority of suspensions—63.4 percent—were for nondangerous offenses.

Our findings that most children are suspended for nonviolent offenses not only confirm our collective experience over many years as lawyers in school desegregation cases, parents, teachers and community workers in and out of schools, they are corroborated by growing

school official data from the school districts which do maintain records of suspensions. As the tables on the following pages show, dangerous or violent acts are low on the lists of reasons for suspension. In schools in very different places, with very different student populations, the major reasons for suspension are for nonattendance, insubordination, or other minor infractions of school rules which could have been dealt with in ways other than exclusion. For example, in a recent meeting with Portland, Maine school officials and after examination of their suspension records a year after we surveyed there, we still found that truancy and tardiness were the major cause of all secondary school suspension—over 85 percent. Smoking accounted for 30 to 62 percent of the suspensions in three Portland junior high schools. In one junior and in one senior high school in Portland only about 1.4 percent of the children were suspended for disruption and poor behavior.¹

A similar pattern of reasons for suspension existed in a San Francisco high school and in public schools in Prince Georges County, Maryland.

In Columbia, South Carolina, another CDF survey district, 47 percent of the suspensions during one month were for truancy and tardiness.

¹Portland, Maine school officials are making changes in their disciplinary practices, including elimination of truancy as a ground for suspension.

TABLE 1
Reasons for Suspensions Found
in CDF Survey

<i>Reason for Suspension</i>	<i>Number of Children Suspended</i>	<i>Percent of Total Suspensions</i>	<i>Reason for Suspension</i>	<i>Number of Children Suspended</i>	<i>Percent of Total Suspensions</i>
Fighting (physical contact):			6. Disobeyed teacher	10	
1. Fighting with teachers, principals, etc.			7. Inattentive in class	1	
a) Fighting with teacher	4		8. Cursing	5	
b) Accused of jumping teacher	2		9. Wrote bad words	1	
2. Fighting with other students			10. Needed "cooling off" period	3	
a) Fighting with other student	185		11. In school bus at wrong time	1	
b) Fighting with other student (different racial group)	22		12. Cutting in lunch line	1	
c) Fighting on bus	1		13. "Unjustly accused" by teacher	2	
d) Accused of starting fight on bus	1		14. Writing on teacher's desk	1	
	215	36.6	15. Went to lunch without permission	1	
				80	13.6
Truancy and tardiness related:			Argument's (verbal confrontations):		
1. Played hooky	36		1. Insulting teacher (and fighting); talking back	28	
2. Cut class	45		2. Disrespect of authority figure (principal or teacher)	3	
3. Left school early	1		3. Disagreement with teacher	10	
4. Left school grounds during school hours	5		4. Swore at teacher	5	
5. Walking in hall	9		5. Argument between students	3	
6. Walked out of class	7		6. Calling other student bad name	1	
7. Tardy to class	31			50	8.5
8. Tardy too often	10		Other Reasons:		
	144	24.5	1. Smoking	33	
Behavior Problems:			2. Punishment-related	24	
1. Behavior problem in class	15		3. Destruction of Property	10	
2. Acting out	16		4. Dress Codes	3	
3. "Bad attitude"	1		5. Drugs and Alcohol	2	
4. "Teacher doesn't like" student	19		6. Miscellaneous	27	
5. Insubordination	3			99	16.8



TABLE 2
Portland, Maine Suspension Reasons
Senior High School
1973-1974

absenteeism	absenteeism
full-time employment	absenteeism
absenteeism	to be married
absenteeism, wishes employment or Evening School	absenteeism
full-time employment	absenteeism
full-time employment	absenteeism
absenteeism	wished to leave school
absenteeism	absenteeism
absenteeism	absenteeism
absenteeism	wishes to attend another school
cutting classes	disruptive behavior in, _____ cafeteria, absenteeism
Left home and school, possible Evening School in future	cutting classes
absenteeism	full-time employment
absenteeism	absenteeism
absenteeism	absenteeism
absenteeism	absenteeism
absenteeism	cutting classes
absenteeism	absenteeism
absenteeism	absenteeism
disruptive behavior during class and lunch, cutting classes	absenteeism
absenteeism	absenteeism
absenteeism	absenteeism
poor behavior and absenteeism	absenteeism
military service	absenteeism
absenteeism	absenteeism
attending Portland Evening School	absenteeism
absenteeism	full-time employment
absenteeism	absenteeism
absenteeism	cutting classes
attending Portland Evening School	attending Portland Adult Evening School
absenteeism	absenteeism
absenteeism	cutting classes
absenteeism	absenteeism
cutting classes	poor behavior and not abiding by school rules
absenteeism	absenteeism

TABLE 3
Portland, Maine Suspension Reasons
Junior High School
1973-1974

Smoking in school building	Smoking in school building
Smoking in school building	Defiance of authority of assistant principal
Absenteeism	Opposition to authority, pelting building with ice balls
Absenteeism	Constant opposition to authority
Throwing firecrackers on school grounds	Throwing firecrackers on school grounds
Poor and disruptive behavior, opposition to authority	Absenteeism
Absenteeism	Absenteeism
Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation	Absenteeism and disrespect for teacher
Smoking in school building	Absenteeism
Absenteeism. Disruptive behavior.	Smoking in school building
Smoking in school building	Smoking in school building
Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation.	Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation. Smoking
Smoking (1)	Smoking in school building
Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation, stealing.	Smoking in school building
Opposition to authority, lack of cooperation, absenteeism	Opposition to authority. Smoking in building. Absenteeism
Smoking in school building	Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation
Smoking in school building	Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation. Defiant
Absenteeism	Smoking in school building. Absenteeism
Threat to harm teacher, and complete disdain, absenteeism	Absenteeism
Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation	Threat to damage teacher's car
Opposition to authority and direct defiance.	Disruptive behavior in class
Smoking in school building	Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation
Smoking in school building	Foul language, disruptive behavior and harassing teachers
Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation	Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation
Arrogant defiance to authority, not verbal but by look	Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation
Defiance of authority of assistant principal. (1) Smoking	Constant tardiness
Throwing firecrackers on school grounds, absenteeism, defiant	Left school without permission, located at _____ High
Smoking in school building, cutting classes	Absenteeism
Smoking in school building	Threat to harm teacher's car
Absenteeism	Absenteeism
Absenteeism	Poor behavior, and physically attacked another girl
Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation	Absenteeism, failure to keep conference appointment
Absenteeism	Crude remarks to teacher and disruptive behavior in class
Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation. Smoking	Opposition to authority and lack of cooperation
Smoking in school building	Absenteeism
Disruptive behavior	Absenteeism

TABLE 4
Suspensions in a Single San Francisco High School
1968-1969

Reason for Suspension	Number	Percent ¹
Truancy, Cutting	136	51.7
Insubordination	81	30.8
Obscenity, Profanity	9	3.4
Defiance	7	2.7
Attack on Student	7	2.7
Fighting	5	1.9
Smoking	5	1.9
Stealing, Vandalism	3	1.1
Extortion	3	1.1
Verbal Threats to Teachers (Use of Weapons)	2	0.8
Possession of Cigarettes, Drugs, Alcohol, Weapons	2	0.8
Arson	1	.2
Attack upon Teacher	1	.2
Verbal Threats to Students (Use of Weapons)	1	.2
Totals	263	100.0

¹ Percents are of total number of suspensions.

² Less than 1/2 of 1 percent.

Source John W. Meyer, Chris Chase-Dunn and James Inverarity, *The Expansion of the Autonomy of Youth: Responses of The Secondary School to Problems of Order in the 1960's*, Laboratory for Social Research, Stanford University, Stanford, California, August 1971 (mimeo). Percents were calculated by CDI.



TABLE 5
Suspensions in Prince Georges County,
Maryland, 1973-1974, All Schools

Reasons for Suspension	Number	Percent ¹
Cutting class, Truancy, tardiness, leaving school building without permission and failure to attend detention	4,393	34.1
Disrespect for authority, use of profane language, refusal to obey school regulations	2,529	19.6
Fighting with students and staff	2,390	18.5
Smoking	1,478	11.5
Constant Class Disruption	726	5.6
Miscellaneous misconduct	605	4.7
Extortion, gambling, stealing	259	2.0
Destruction of school property	210	1.6
Lighting fires or use of fireworks	89	0.7
Use of Drugs	61	0.5
Totals	12,897	100.0

¹ Percents are of total number of suspensions.

Source Suspension Summary, Office of Pupil Personnel, Prince Georges County, Md., 1974. Percents were calculated by CDI.

TABLE 6
Columbia, South Carolina
High School Suspensions¹

12/2/74-1/17/75

Reason for Suspension	Number	Percent ¹
Class Cutting	256	41.7
Disruption	81	13.2
Demerits	72	11.7
Disobedient	65	10.6
Assault ²	45	7.3
Tardy	30	4.9
Fighting ²	30	4.9
Gambling	17	2.8
Alcohol	7	1.1
Left Campus	7	1.1
Disrespect	4	0.7
Totals	614	100.0

¹ Percent is of total number suspended.

² Among the 8 Columbia, S.C. High Schools "assault" and "fighting" appear to be alternative names for the same events, since schools reported either "assault" or "fighting" as a reason for suspension, but no school ever reported both terms.

Source Columbia, S.C., Public Schools, "Short term suspension report, December 2, 1974-January 17, 1975", Columbia, S.C., 1975 (typewritten). Totals and percents were calculated by CDI from the 8 high schools listed in the report.

TABLE 7
Nashville-Davidson, Tennessee High School Suspensions
(Grades 10-12) During 1971-1972

Reason for Suspension	Sex and Race of Students Suspended from Grades 10-12							
	Black Male		Black Female		White Male		White Female	
	Nbr	Pct. ¹	Nbr.	Pct. ¹	Nbr.	Pct. ¹	Nbr.	Pct. ¹
Attendance	105	39.9	31	38.8	177	62.2	91	68.4
Behavior	73	27.8	27	33.8	69	20.2	11	8.3
Smoking	1	0.4	0	0.0	37	10.8	17	12.8
Disorderly conduct	42	16.0	17	21.3	43	12.6	5	3.8
Stealing	10	3.8	0	0.0	1	0.3	1	0.8
Drugs	7	2.7	1	1.3	8	2.3	2	1.5
Weapon	4	1.5	0	0.0	1	0.3	1	0.8
Other, or unknown	21	8.0	4	5.0	6	1.8	5	3.8
Totals	263	100.0	80	100.0	342	100.0	133	100.0
Suspensions in 1971-72	263	100.0	80	100.0	342	100.0	133	100.0
Was student a dropout or excluded-after-suspension?	53	20.2	14	17.5	49	14.3	11	8.3
Were legal measures taken or considered for incident?	18	6.8	3	3.8	33	9.6	8	6.0

¹ Percents are of total number suspended shown in the column.

Source Binkley, I. d., Richard Hooper, and Charles Babb, "Study of Student Suspensions Nashville-Davidson Metropolitan Public Schools," (Nashville, Tennessee, December, 1972)

TABLE 8
DeKalb County Schools,
Georgia-Columbia High School
First Quarter 1974-1975

Reason	Suspensions		Detentions	
	Num-ber	Per-cent ¹	Num-ber	Per-cent ¹
Away without leave	108	48.2	146	33.3
Fighting	27	12.1	21	4.8
Rude, discourteous	22	9.8	89	20.3
Smoking	21	9.4	55	12.5
Skipping Detention	18	8.0	0	0.0
Lack of cooperation	7	3.1	16	3.6
Disturbance	6	2.7	27	6.2
Mischief	5	2.2	12	2.7
Profanity	4	1.8	12	2.7
Talking	2	0.9	20	4.6
Stealing	2	0.9	1	0.2
Harassment	1	0.4	1	0.2
Vandalism	1	0.4	0	0.0
Tardy	0	0.0	21	4.8
Disobedient	0	0.0	11	2.5
Beligerent	0	0.0	7	1.6
Totals	224	100.0	439	100.0

¹ Percents are for total number shown in the column.

Source Compliance Review of the H-W Office for Civil Rights, December, 1974





In Nashville, Tennessee, 68 percent of the suspensions during one year were attendance related and another 12 percent involved smoking.

During the first quarter of 1974-75 in a high school in DeKalb County, Georgia, more than 67 percent of the children were suspended for attendance problems and smoking.

While it is true that school officials must use flexibility and discretion in disciplining students, the following not atypical list of reasons that would elicit a suspension seems so arbitrary and without internal logic that we wonder exactly

TABLE 9

**"Unofficial Suspension Regulations"
Chester-Upland, Pennsylvania**

1. Smoking
2. Chronic lateness to school or classes
3. Cutting classes of cafeteria
4. Cutting school
5. Cutting principal's late detention
6. Cursing teacher and students
7. Defiance of teacher or security guard
8. Possession of magic marker or flare pen
9. Walking out of class without permission
10. Fighting in or outside of school
11. Throwing food in the cafeteria
12. Disruption in class
13. Striking a teacher
14. Eating in class
15. Chewing gum if student refuses to get rid of it
16. Infraction of hall passing procedure
17. Refusing to take a paddle for an infraction
18. Throwing objects
19. Returning to school grounds while on suspension
20. Possession of drugs or alcohol
21. Defacing school property
22. Carrying food to the classroom
23. Being at lockers without permission
24. Wearing coats and hats to class
25. Being in the hall without a pass
26. Young men touching young ladies
27. Disrespect toward staff
28. Disruption in the cafeteria or auditorium
29. Running or horseplay during hall passing
30. Overtly harrassing other students to a point of deterring class work
31. On private property
32. Causing a disturbance or disruption during a fire drill
33. Disturbing neighbors or adults going to or leaving school
34. Improper dress
35. Making obscene gestures
36. Carrying concealed or exposed weapon chains, clubs, guns, knives, etc.
37. Stealing from the school, school personnel, or fellow students
38. Indecent assault upon a young lady or a female teacher

what general rules of behavior it teaches children.

What It Means To A Child To Be Suspended

Jimmy

Jimmy was not one of the many children who are suspended for trivial reasons. Four years ago, when he was thirteen and in the eighth grade, a group of boys had been milling in the hall outside the arts and crafts room when suddenly several of them began fighting. "I remember slugging Franky Fischel. He called my sister a name. Something. Anyway, a group of us, we was really going at it, see. I didn't even see the teachers coming to break it up. All of a sudden they was just there, you know, yelling at us, telling us to report to Mr. Dryer, the assistant principal. I remember him. He had nothing in that school to do all day but punish kids.

"He threw me out. I tried to argue, I didn't start the fight, but he didn't let me say nothing. He just said I was fighting, there was a rule, I was out. I think like a week. Tuesday to Tuesday, something like that. Then I got sick right after that, so I missed something like nine or ten days instead of just five days like I was supposed to. Jesus, my old man, you know, he was furious with me. But that wasn't so bad. The bad thing was Dryer, this pretend cop, throwing me out. He didn't let me say nothing to him in his office. He went with me and this other guy to our lockers, stood there watching us getting our stuff and walked us to the front door, you know, like he had to make sure we were going. He didn't even let me see my teacher. So I missed all my work for two weeks.

"That was the worst part. If you ain't in school that's maybe not that bad if you can keep up. I was never good in school, but I did all my work. But when you throw a person out and never let him come back to get his books so's he can't do his work, then how do they expect you to keep up? I almost lost the whole year because of that one lousy five-day suspension!"

Despite his fears that he would lose the entire year, Jimmy was able to make up the work from



his two weeks out of school. He had passed all of his courses except English in June and completed the three compositions the English teacher said would erase his "incomplete" during the summer.

But as the new school year began, it became obvious that Jimmy's suspension was not forgotten. Some of his classmates reminded him of his earlier trouble and jokingly asked him what trouble he had planned for the new year. Jimmy took the jibes good-naturedly but he was hurt by them. He was hurt even more when he learned from the English teacher that the incomplete could not be removed from his record until one semester had elapsed. Jimmy had handed in the three compositions as arranged, but he now learned for the first time that he had been placed

on an unofficial probation period. If he stayed out of trouble, the incomplete would be removed.

"I never thought that was fair neither. That was like not being able to tell Dryer my side of the story. But I went along with it. I mean, there wasn't no hurry about nothing. I could go to the high school the next year if I passed, and I did the compositions. So it was all right. It wasn't fair, like I say, but I didn't say nothing. Like, what could you say? And who could you say something to even if you wanted to?"

"The way I saw it, the bad part was that everybody in the school, kids too, they all had me pegged. Everybody was waiting around for me to get into more trouble. Lots of kids, they're always looking for trouble in the schools. It's

like, that's what they're there for. Teachers too, especially guys like Dryer. He was always waiting for me. I don't know, maybe even my folks were waiting for trouble. They never said nothing about it, but maybe they were waiting for trouble too."

Trouble came again in mid-October. Another scene of milling in the halls, another outbreak between boys, and this time Jimmy was accused of pushing over some free standing lockers so that they blocked the entrance to the lavatories. Nine boys were suspended. Unlike his previous experience, each boy had an opportunity to tell Mr. Dryer and Principal Ostead their side of the story. But, according to Jimmy, it was as lopsided this year as it was the previous year. The boys talked. Dryer and Ostead said nothing. At the end of the session the suspensions were announced. Boys who had never been suspended previously were out for one week. Jimmy and two other boys who had been suspended from the school once before were suspended for two-and-a-half weeks. One boy, who everyone reported had started the fracas, was suspended for three weeks.

Jimmy received a beating from his father that night. His mother refused to hear his side of the story. She asked the assistant principal and accepted his view about the details of the fight.

The school work that went undone during the two and a half weeks of this second suspension was never made up. Jimmy tried. The social studies homework was manageable but the mathematics and science work were impossible to complete without being in class every day. At fourteen, Jimmy could see that his battle with school was over.

"I could tell. It was only a matter of how much longer. Like, I was almost fifteen, I wasn't even in the high school really. And all these people there, even my friends, they acted like I was some sort of criminal. Jesus, the way they acted around me, you'd have thought I just got out of the pen or something. Like I had a police record. The way I see it, nobody in that school was out to help anybody, which was alright 'cause if you did your work like I always tried to do they'd let you get

by. You had to be pretty awful dumb not to pass in that school. They didn't help nothing by throwing me out. They knew what they were doing, too. They knew when they suspended me what would happen. I'd be all through. They knew it.

"They even work on your old man and old lady a little, you know. Tell 'em their kid's a bum. If someone else said that they'd bust him in the mouth. But if the school tells your old man you're no good, he'll believe 'em. Everybody believes what the school says about you. If they say you're a bum, you're a bum. They suspended you, right? Didn't let you do your work, right? So that proves you're a bum, right?"

By the end of the ninth grade, Jimmy had flunked science and mathematics, courses he had never completed during the period of his suspension. One of his teachers wondered whether Jimmy should find a new school so that he could start all over again. But Jimmy told the teacher what Mr. Dryer had told him: No matter what he did and where he went, the two suspensions and the incomplete courses and failures would be permanent fixtures of his school record. The teacher told Jimmy he was sorry.

"The teacher felt sorry for me. I think maybe he was the first person in all that time who felt bad. It was like he was saying, 'you're drowning, man, and I feel bad. I wish I could do something for you. Maybe you ain't such a bad kid after all. Even with your fighting, you could pass all these courses. You ain't the dumbest kid here. You really ain't. We've had dumber kids here than you.'"

During the middle of April in his last year in junior high school, Jimmy saw some boys and girls tussling in the school yard after school. The details of the incident are unclear. Someone said the students were only teasing one another. One of the girls involved said a boy was trying to have sex with her girlfriend who was unable to resist. She said that Jimmy had come to her rescue even though he barely knew the girl. A door leading to a hallway outside the gymnasium got broken as did several windows. All the students ran away except one boy who turned himself in and re-

ported the names of everyone he could remember being there. Some of the students were given a warning by the administration, others were suspended. It was the third time for Jimmy.

When he returned to school, he began cutting classes. He was absent nearly half of the month of May. By June he stopped going to school altogether. Amazingly, he was graduated from junior high school and entered high school the following autumn. He attended his high school classes irregularly after pledging to his family that he would do his best to stay in school. By Christmas of his first year in high school, he had dropped out for good. No one in the school ever inquired about him. A letter was written to his parents, but he never saw it. There was no remonstrance from his parents, merely the order to find a job.

"I don't see what I done as quitting school," he said. "The way I see it, they quit on *me* first. First the school, then my parents. If they hadn't quit, I'd still be there. There was a guy I know, we went to grammar school together, he was suspended like me once and it scared the hell out of him. He went off the wall, he was so scared. I never felt that way. I knew they'd let me back in, but this guy was really out of it. So then his homeroom teacher called him up, while he was suspended, you know. The lady just called him up on the telephone, maybe like two, three times. Just to see how he was. He never forgot it. He was never suspended again neither. He had someone looking out for him, someone who was worried whether he was going to be all right.

"I always thought, if one person in the world had called me up, from the school I mean, to say hello, I'd have been better off. I might have stayed in too. But no one gave a damn. No one calling to see whether you're okay, just to find out even whether you're still alive, makes you think you're not a worthwhile person, you know what I mean? If I got one thing out of those suspensions it was that I was a guy without any worth in the world. Like I was a dollar bill, you know, but no one was using those kind of dollar bills no more. I mean it. One phone call, even from that guy Dryer, and I might still be in there now. When you just go and suspend a kid, all

you're doing is saying get the hell out of here, and don't come back till we tell you to. And even when it's all right to come back, they still don't want you. You're still the wrong kind of dollar."

Now permanently out of school, a new problem confronted Jimmy. On his first four attempts to gain employment, the personnel people asked for his school records. All four contacted his high school and were told about his three junior high school suspensions. All four refused to hire him. They couldn't take a chance, not with a record like his. A fifth job opened up thanks to a friend who convinced another friend that he could use Jimmy in his small grocery store. The new employer told Jimmy he was hiring him, suspensions and all, but that Jimmy should think of the first several months of the job as a probation period. Jimmy's performance there has been faultless and he remains on the job.

There has been no trouble now for many months. There is some talk about Jimmy's returning to school some day, although he realizes that the chances of it happening are reduced each day that he remains out of school.

"I ain't the first to quit. Won't be the last neither. Lots of kids drop out, most of 'em are poor, like me, but rich ones too, they quit. The way I see it, the suspension, that first time, that was the one that set it up for me. From then on it was a pattern. Maybe I got into trouble 'cause I wanted attention. Maybe that's the answer, I don't know. All I know is that no one in the school cared nothing about what I did or didn't do."

How Suspension Harms Children

Suspension seldom benefits children. Unjust suspensions hurt school officials and all children in a school—not just those who are suspended. Children who watch innocent children being suspended because there was no hearing or because officials did not give credit to students' side of the story will learn that adults and laws are not as fair as they proclaim to be. Children who watch children being suspended because they are black and poor will learn that racism and classism are

condoned by adults in America. Children who watch suspensions being given to children who cut school or for trivial reasons will wonder about the wisdom of their adult models. And children who watch other children being suspended because they have problems which cause them not to fit the smooth, quiet functioning of a school will learn that it is all right to ignore people with problems, to close their eyes and not offer help when it is needed. Such lessons can only undercut the respect for authority and maturity that most parents want school discipline to teach their youngsters.

For the children who are suspended, the harm is even greater. In our conversations with parents, children, school officials, community people and youth services officials, they indicated that suspensions can harm children in at least four ways. Suspensions: (1) take away educational time that may cause marginal, weak or poorly motivated students to drop out permanently; (2) label children as "troublemakers," thereby making repeated behavior problems more likely; (3) deny children needed help, and (4) contribute to juvenile delinquency by putting unsupervised children and those with problems into the streets.

Finally, additional harm accrues to children who are mistakenly suspended, suspended arbitrarily or by unfair means. For the black and other minority and poor children who are suspended by officials with double-standards for behavior and punishment, the repeated reinforcement of discrimination will leave bitter scars.

Schoolwork Missed

School officials confirm the negative impact of missed schoolwork on some children. One Superintendent said, "If they stay out 9, 12, 15 days in a marking period, they'll have a hard time."² Another school official said that in his school students cannot make up work, including tests, missed as a result of suspension. Still

another said the days missed for a suspension are recorded as unexcused absences for the purpose of making up work.³ A former school board member in Davenport, Iowa said, "If a child is kicked out of the same class six times, he or she has to drop the class."⁴ Some districts have attendance rules which require grade retention if a child misses a certain number of days, suspension can thereby cause some children to lose a whole year of school.⁵

Some children lose major amounts of time from school because of suspension. Our analysis of OCR data shows that in Twiggs County, Georgia, three children were suspended for an average of 107 days. In Casa Grande High, Arizona, 46 children were suspended for an average of 48.7 days. And in Scottsbluff, Nebraska, 66 children were suspended for an average of 45.8 days.⁶ While the average time for suspension nationally is four days, many children suffer back-to-back, short-term suspensions⁷ or are suspended multiple times.⁸ One child reported that he was suspended "every other week in the eighth grade," then was finally expelled "because I was getting suspended too much."

³*Children Out of School in America*, p. 136.

⁴Interview with Joseph McCaffery, ex-School Board member, Davenport Community Schools, Davenport, Iowa, November 7, 1973.

⁵*Children Out of School in America*, p. 136.

⁶See Chapter 3 and Appendix B of this report for further data on suspensions by school district.

⁷CDF's survey found multiple short-term suspensions to be common among children who were suspended. The most extreme case was Ralph Pina, whose mother reported that when he was eight years old, he was "suspended three days out of every week." See the profile of Ralph Pina, beginning on page 29 in *Children Out of School in America*.

⁸Forty percent of the students suspended, found in our CDF survey, were suspended more than once, 24 percent were suspended three or more times. See *Children Out of School in America*, p. 132.

²Interview with Gerard F. Smith, Superintendent of Schools, New Bedford, Massachusetts, November 26, 1973.

Causes Permanent School Leaving

Almost 11 percent of the children in our survey who were out of school cited a suspension as the triggering device. A Somerville Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) worker explained the pattern similar to Jimmy's in which students get suspended, drop behind in their school work, cut classes, and eventually leave school completely.⁹ The Springfield NYC education director reported that "if a kid is out for a couple of months, he can't really make up the work, so he just drops out."¹⁰ And Superintendent Stoddard in Sumter County, South Carolina acknowledged that a student who is frequently disciplined may end up dropping out.¹¹

Labeling

Suspension often labels a child as a troublemaker. This label causes teachers, school officials and other students to foster expectations that breed misbehavior. One educational expert testified that "the labeling process, . . . does carry over from one teacher to another. . . the teacher expects a certain kind of behavior, namely rebellious behavior or negative behavior, from a youngster, and with that kind of expectation as a pre-set, the youngster naturally is reinforced into producing that kind of behavior."¹²

The education director and the psychologist of the Springfield Neighborhood Youth Corps confirmed the labeling problem. They cited the case of a Forest Park Junior High student who was suspended, "Everytime he returned if he even opened his mouth he got booked again."¹³

⁹Interview with Jean Luce, Neighborhood Youth Corps (Out-of-School), Somerville, Massachusetts, November 2, 1973.

¹⁰Interview with Barbara Jackson, Education Director, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Springfield, Massachusetts, December 5, 1973.

¹¹Interview with Hugh Stoddard, Superintendent of Schools, Sumter County No. 2, South Carolina, January 18, 1974.

¹²As quoted in Amicus Brief of the Children's Defense Fund filed in *Goss v. Lopez*, *supra*, at 15.

A Springfield attorney commented that the Office of Pupil Services used to label all kids who were suspended as in need of psychiatric care and used this as a rationalization for keeping kids out because the system did not have adequate psychiatric care.¹⁴

Suspension, once on a child's record, blocks a child's chances of wiping the slate clean with another teacher, another school or another agency that receives his records. As an upcoming CDF-Urban Policy Research Institute study on school record keeping practices in Los Angeles shows,¹⁵ children's discipline records, including suspension, are scattered among many kinds of people in and outside of schools, including employers, law enforcement agencies, and almost anybody who asks to see them except parents and children.¹⁶ We found that:

No regulations govern the disposition of discipline files. Each dean or vice principal may destroy whatever he chooses, whenever he chooses or keep the files indefinitely. Many administrators keep discipline files years after students graduate to refresh their memories so they can prepare summaries for potential employers, law enforcement and probation authorities. One junior high school principal keeps discipline files for a year after the students are no longer in his school "in case the police or courts need information after the

¹³Interview with Barbara Jackson and Donna Scholee, Springfield, Massachusetts, December 5, 1973.

¹⁴Interview with William Malloy, Housing Allowance Program, Springfield, Massachusetts, August 17, 1973.

¹⁵*Children On File, School Record Keeping Practices in Los Angeles*. This report will be available from CDF and the Urban Policy Research Institute in Fall, 1975.

¹⁶We wrote to personnel directors of America's 500 largest industrial corporations. Of the companies responding to our query, 51.7 percent stated that they sought access to a job applicant's public school records. Of those seeking access, 91.1 percent reported that they were generally allowed to see school records and 73.3 percent indicated that poor grades, high absenteeism or a history of discipline problems appearing on the records were likely to count against the applicant. Companies characterized people with records of suspension as "poor job prospects," who would receive "negative consideration."

student has gone on to high school." At one school, a disciplinary file was observed that spanned a ten year period. The vice principal's rationale was that it contained information on "particularly bad boys" and he wanted to have evidence of that in case FBI investigators or employers asked him about one of them.

A few school administrators destroy all behavior files after graduation because they believe students should have another chance.

_____ principal at _____, for example, stated, "What a student does when he is 16 shouldn't be held against him when he is 19. Youngsters do a lot of growing up during these years." One school principal,

_____ of _____ Elementary School destroys discipline files at the end of each school year because "even students with lengthy records deserve a fresh start."

Discipline file retention practices often vary even among officials at the same school. One assistant principal in charge of discipline destroys behavioral records of boys when they graduate. But the dean of women, whom he supervises, keeps records on girls for five years, some even longer. Her supervisor is not even aware of this inconsistency within the same school. She continues to release information that he believes has long since been destroyed."

Denies Children Help

Many children who misbehave in school are expressing symptoms of other kinds of problems: their own, their families', or the school's. Suspension is particularly inappropriate in response to a child's personal problem arising from a physical, emotional or mental handicap. A study of 444 students in the custody of the Colorado Division of Youth Services in 1972-1973 showed that 90.4 percent of them had learning and perceptual disabilities. The mean



Children on File: School Record Keeping Practices in Los Angeles Though the recently passed Family Education Rights and Privacy Act, the so-called "Buckley Amendment," should begin to correct some of these abuses, it does not affect the millions of files on children that have been opened already to law enforcement agencies, employers and others. Nor does the mere passage of the law guarantee its enforcement.

grade they had completed was 8.8, but they functioned at a mean grade level of 4.6.¹⁸ A study of 1,252 children convicted of offenses in Texas showed that only 57, or 4.6 percent, were at their proper educational grade level. Students in the eleventh grade read at sixth grade level.¹⁹ What does the frustration of not seeing the blackboard or not hearing the teacher push a child to do? How can a child behave if he cannot perform the basic skills needed for the work around him? What is the school's responsibility in these cases? Suspension, as a school official admitted, merely moves children's problems from the school to the streets. He said:

All the kids who are out on the streets are the ones who can't cope with the classrooms and the school . . . They're crying for help but they're doing it in bad ways.²⁰

Youth services workers often complain about schools denying children the help they need and contributing to their getting into trouble.

I have strong feelings about schools not doing the jobs they're supposed to do. Schools should be the initial barometer of problems with kids . . . They ignore difficult kids, give them social promotions or suspend and expel them.²¹

A child doesn't get picked up for services until he's in trouble.²²

¹⁸Richard C. Compton, "Diagnostic Procedures and Classifications of Learning Disabilities," memo as Supervisor of Education, Department of Institutions, Division of Youth Services, Denver, Colorado, June 21, 1973.

¹⁹Kenneth Wooden, "Reading Level of Students in Texas," a study for the Institute of Applied Politics, Princeton, New Jersey, March 12, 1973.

²⁰Interview with Delmer Sly, Assistant Principal, Smart Junior High School, Davenport, Iowa, November 7, 1973.

²¹Interview with James McGuinness, Regional Director, Region VI, Department of Youth Services, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, June 28, 1973.

²²Interview with Linda Godin, Placement Director, Region VI, Department of Youth Services, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, August 28, 1973.

Almost all these kids should have been picked up as having problems in schools in the beginning. They probably were belligerent even in the first and second grades. And the amount of legitimate evaluation and consultation these kids have had is zero when they reach us.²³

Schools conveniently forget about the troublemakers.²⁴

If it is a more temporary crisis because of a family incident or problem, suspension can only exacerbate it. And if the child's misbehavior is a response to uninteresting classes and curriculum, suspending the child addresses the wrong problem. So often schools blame their own inadequacies on children. The results are tragic for children and for the rest of us.

The consequences of shedding responsibility for children can be serious. In no area is this more striking than with attendance-related offenses like truancy which in many states can result in a child's institutionalization.²⁵ One juvenile judge announced that "I will no longer commit any child to a training school whose offense is solely truancy." He stated further that:

I believe that a radically different approach must be taken. I feel that it is the responsibility of the Department of Education to devote greater and more imaginative resources to this end. There will have to be a variety of programs implemented to deal with the multiple factors involved. There should be special education and counseling centers in the community, the involvement of trained people from other but related disciplines, smaller schools, street academies, testing, new and more versatile curricula, more specialists to work on a one to one basis. The Department of Education is working hard in this area but much more needs to be done because the battle is not being won. This hard truth proves the need.

²³Interview with Douglas Bard, Director, Anker House, Worcester, Mass., Massachusetts, September 11, 1973.

²⁴Interview with John Gardner, Placement Director, Region II, Department of Youth Services, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, August 29, 1973.

²⁵See Appendix D for state chart on statutes relating to truancy.

It costs the taxpayers \$6,500.00 to keep one truant in a training school for one year. With the money that will be saved by not committing any more truants from Baltimore City (unless their truancy is combined with committing criminal acts or other ungovernable behavior) much more can be poured into providing the services and facilities that can be helpful in dealing in an effective way with this problem.

Thus, any child who is found to be guilty of truancy alone in the Juvenile Court of Baltimore City will be placed on probation. Our probation department will be establishing specialized types of programs of a remedial and tutorial nature to work with these children in addition to utilizing all appropriate community based resources. If a child does not respond to our intensive program (which will take time to develop fully) then we shall not punish him by sending him away but will have to admit our own failure.

The truant child is a troubled child and one whose future is bleak. It is our hope in the Juvenile Court to take what we hope to be a more positive and enlightened approach to this problem and attack the social roots, for without changing these social roots we will not change the condition. And it is our hope that all departments and agencies concerned with the education and welfare of our youth will take a fresh look at the situation and move ahead with boldness and imagination.²⁶

Encouragement of Juvenile Delinquency

No one has been able to identify the precise causes of juvenile delinquency. Most social scientists agree that the factors contributing to it are many and interrelated. But school problems

whether they cause delinquency, are caused by delinquency, or are caused by some other factors that also cause delinquency - are highly correlated with more serious offenses. Officials in Massachusetts detention and other youth facilities whom we interviewed said:

Ninety-eight percent of [our] children have been involved in school problems.²⁷

Everyone has come in with some particular school problem.²⁸

Nearly all have had trouble in school.²⁹

You name it, they've had it. Some have been tutored at home; others are put in special classes or given social promotions. One girl never spent a full year in school before coming here.³⁰

Many administrators see the public schools as serving the majority of children, and they encourage nonconforming children to go elsewhere - or are ready to have them disappear - as long as they keep out of their schools. Children under the supervision of the Department of Youth Services in Massachusetts whom we interviewed revealed that over 80 percent of them had been expelled or suspended, many of them repeatedly.³¹ Two of them said:

I forgot how many times I was suspended in the seventh and eighth grades. They'd ask for my story but they'd always believe the teacher. They'd say, "take a few days vacation."

The principal said "don't bring him back, we don't want him here." They didn't give any reason whatsoever. They said "we'll say we caught you with marijuana." I continuously called the school asking if I was terminated and if so, requesting that my records be sent to Worcester. They kept telling me to call back next week that went on until December. They were playing a game and I lost a year of my life academically as a result.

A highly placed Department of Youth Services official remarked.

²⁷Interview with Paul Caraburg, Staff, Anker House, Worcester, Massachusetts, September 11, 1973.

²⁸Interview with Jerry Cowan, Director, Liberty House, Danvers, Massachusetts, September 17, 1973.

²⁹Interview with Anthony Ieso, Educational Director, Protestant Youth Center, Baldwinville, Massachusetts, September 20, 1973.

³⁰Of the 46 children interviewed, 37 had been either suspended or expelled from school at least once. Most had been suspended repeatedly.

²⁶Press statement of Robert I. H. Hammerman, Judge, Supreme Bench of Baltimore County, Maryland, June 4, 1970. Judge Hammerman's entire statement is contained in Appendix I.

²⁷Interview with James McGuinness, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, August 28, 1973.

The good schools don't like our kids, and the bad ones we don't like. We find that if we take our kids and place them in Boston public schools if we leave them off at 8:00, they're expelled by 8:30, before school even starts.³²

Suspending children leaves them to their own devices, at home or on the streets, often without any supervision or guidance. Parents in all the districts we visited expressed serious concern for children "hanging around" the streets idly. Schools whose primary constituency is supposed

to be children, by shedding themselves of the difficult ones, thereby shun those who most need their help. As busy as we know teachers are, we agree with one Portland school official who remarked:

The feeling in the system is "you can't help these people" [problem children], but you can. The thinking process can be changed. . . . Kids must be made to feel that they are worthwhile. Teachers can't continue to say, I don't have time . . .³³

³²Interview with an official in the Department of Youth Services, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, who asked to remain anonymous

³³Interview with an official in Portland, Maine, who asked to remain anonymous



Chapter 3

The Widespread Use of Suspensions

Until only a few years ago school exclusionary devices such as suspensions were invisible. Neither the federal, state, nor local governments had any idea how many children were suspended.¹ Even school superintendents were often ignorant of the extent of this practice in their districts. Suspension was an administrative process so discretionary and so informal that it was hidden inside the offices of individual principals and sometimes inside the classes of individual teachers.

Beginning in 1972, OCR began collecting data on school suspensions for the purpose of discovering whether suspension patterns reflected racial discrimination within school districts with high minority enrollments. Because of the availability of this data, it was possible for the first time to examine the extent and nature of school suspensions throughout the country.

This chapter contains our detailed analysis of two principal sources of suspension data: (1) 1972-73 school year suspension reports submitted by over 2,800 school districts to OCR covering over 24 million children;² and (2) the

results of questions about suspension from our own household survey on children out of school. Although as we pointed out in the Overview suspension is not the only way schools exclude children for disciplinary reasons, we concentrate on it here because of its widespread use and its impact on a large number of school children.³

was obtained on 24,188,681 public school children accounting for 53 percent of the total school enrollment and 86 percent of the total minority enrollment. OCR covered all large cities, a sample of medium-size cities and only those small school systems which it monitors because of prior racial discrimination.

The districts reporting are *not* a random sample of all school districts. Rather they are a census of all school districts containing substantial minority enrollments, except for very small (under 300 total district enrollment) districts. The set of districts constitute a census of school suspension policies affecting the 24,188,681 students enrolled in the 2,862 districts, rather than a sample of some larger group of students.

¹As we discussed in footnote 2 in the Overview, OCR counts of suspensions are an underestimation because sometimes short-term suspensions of less than three days are called by other names. Some suspensions are not even recognized as such by school officials. In a Chicago Education and Vocational Guidance Center, certain offenses are automatic grounds for a student "being asked to stay home for various amounts of time." These are not reported to the central office as suspensions. (Interview with Stanley Volpat, Assistant Principal, King Education and Vocational Guidance Center, Chicago.) See pp. 118-119 in *Children Out of School in America* for a more complete discussion of these various disciplinary exclusions.

²See Appendix C for our correspondence with OCR Director Peter Holmes proposing changes in OCR survey forms to incorporate more vital information.

³The 2,862 school districts reporting to OCR for the 1972-73 school year (see Appendix A for methodology) had 27,310 elementary schools and 11,556 secondary schools. Because of the way OCR collected its data, information

How Many Children Are Suspended?

Of the 24 million students covered by the OCR survey, over one million or 4.2 percent of them were suspended at least once during the 1972-73 school year.

TABLE 1
Students Suspended at Least Once
During the 1972-73 School Year
(2,862 School Districts Reporting)

	Total Enrollment	Number Suspended One or More Times	Percent Suspended
Elementary and Secondary Schools	24,188,681	1,012,347	4.2
Secondary Schools	11,127,028	893,276	8.0
Elementary Schools	13,061,653	119,071	0.9

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

School Days Lost

From an educational standpoint, the time lost due to suspensions is troubling. The one million suspended children in the OCR survey missed an average of four days per year or a total of over four million days. Furthermore, the average of four days hides the many children who face long-term, indefinite, or repeated, back-to-back, short-term suspensions that are in effect expulsions often without any of the due process safeguards that accompany those harsher actions.

Some children in some school districts are suspended for long periods of time. For example, suspensions in North Pike Consolidated School District in Mississippi averaged 121.6 days for each student. Bastrop, Texas suspensions averaged 57.2 days each. And Baltimore, Maryland suspensions averaged 35.0 days each for over 1,700 students.

Data for individual districts cited throughout this chapter and not otherwise identified are shown in Appendix B.

TABLE 2
Students Suspended at Least Once
During the 1972-73 School Year
(2,862 School Districts Reporting)

	Number Suspended	Average Length in Days	School Days Lost
Elementary and Secondary Schools	1,012,347	4.01	4,062,408
Secondary Schools	893,276	4.01	3,578,891
Elementary Schools	119,071	4.06	483,517

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

TABLE 3
Twenty Worst Districts in OCR Survey
Ranked by Average Length of
Suspensions in Days for All Students
Elementary and Secondary Levels Combined

Rank	District and State	Number of Suspensions	Average Length in Days Suspended
1	North Pike, Mississippi	11	121.6
2	Casa Grande Elementary, Arizona	1	110.0
3	Twiggs County, Georgia	3	107.0
4	Beggs, Oklahoma	2	101.5
5	Goliad, Texas	6	80.7
6	McGregor, Texas	1	73.0
7	Louise, Texas	2	61.5
8	Bastrop, Texas	13	57.2
9	Linwood, Arkansas	1	53.0
10	Crockett, Texas	13	50.8
11	Casa Grande High, Arizona	46	48.7
12	Scottsbluff, Nebraska	66	45.8
13	Holmes County, Mississippi	5	44.4
14	Lake County, Tennessee	41	41.3
15	Attalla, Alabama	7	39.1
16	Grandview, Washington	2	39.0
17	Balsz, Arizona	5	38.4
18	Baltimore City, Maryland	1,790	35.0
19	Elysian Fields, Texas	1	35.0
20	Wharton, Texas	34	33.4

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

Not a Localized Problem

Substantial numbers of children were suspended in almost every state surveyed by OCR.⁵ Moreover, it is interesting to note that, judged either by total numbers or by proportions of students suspended, states in all regions of the United States have overused suspensions as a disciplinary tool.

Suspensions are common in all types of school districts. Large city districts like Chicago, New York City and Philadelphia have suspended the largest number of children, but so do large suburban districts like Prince Georges and Baltimore County, Maryland.⁶ We also find many smaller urban and suburban districts like Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and Jefferson Parish, Louisiana promiscuously suspending students. There is much variety in size, racial composition and rates of suspension among the districts reporting the greatest numbers of suspensions.

Among school districts suspending large numbers of children proportionate to the total enrollment, we find even greater variation. Gridley, California, with the worst suspension rate in the survey, is a small rural high school district of about 600 students. Thornton, Illinois (in the Chicago metropolitan area) with 10,000 enrolled students suspended over a fifth of its student body.

⁵ Though four states—Maine, Hawaii, New Hampshire and Vermont—did not report suspension data to OCR, primarily because of the small percentage of minority students, we know that children are suspended in some of these states. For example, see Chapter 2 for discussion of Portland, Maine suspensions.

⁶ Other city districts like Washington, D.C., Detroit, Michigan and Minneapolis, Minnesota report relatively low suspension rates and, consequently, are not on the list of the "worst twenty."

TABLE 4

Number and Percent of Students Suspended by State,¹ Ranked by Percent Suspended

Rank	State	Number Suspended	Percent Suspended
1	Rhode Island	2,558	8.8
2	Louisiana	72,792	8.6
3	Connecticut	14,609	7.2
4	Pennsylvania	43,842	6.8
5	Wisconsin	12,759	6.8
6	New Jersey	36,554	6.4
7	South Carolina	39,214	6.2
8	Idaho	1,709	6.1
9	Delaware	3,940	5.9
10	Illinois	55,004	5.6
11	Virginia	39,365	5.4
12	Florida	76,185	5.1
13	Kansas	9,230	5.1
14	Ohio	38,566	4.8
15	Michigan	31,111	4.6
16	Indiana	18,612	4.3
17	California	141,768	4.0
18	North Carolina	40,615	3.9
19	Georgia	38,725	3.9
20	Maryland	32,030	3.9
21	Colorado	13,333	3.9
22	Arkansas	10,338	3.9
23	Massachusetts	9,041	3.9
24	Minnesota	4,308	3.7
25	Tennessee	20,880	3.6
26	Missouri	12,368	3.6
27	Oregon	2,820	3.5
28	Kentucky	9,746	3.4
29	Oklahoma	9,886	3.2
30	Wyoming	779	3.1
31	Texas	63,466	2.8
32	Mississippi	14,096	2.8
33	New York	43,245	2.7
34	Alabama	19,948	2.6
35	Alaska	1,981	2.6
36	West Virginia	4,265	2.5
37	New Mexico	5,844	2.4
38	Iowa	2,923	2.4
39	Nevada	2,698	2.3
40	Utah	1,954	2.0
41	North Dakota	58	2.0
42	Washington	3,459	1.9
43	District of Columbia	2,657	1.9
44	Arizona	2,733	1.0
45	South Dakota	247	1.0
46	Montana	29	0.2
47	Nebraska	66	0.1

¹ No districts in Hawaii, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont were surveyed by OCR.

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

TABLE 5
Twenty Worst Districts in OCR Survey for All
Students by Number of Children Suspended
Elementary and Secondary Combined

Rank	District	Enrollment	Percent Black	Number Suspended	Percent Suspended	Average Length
1	Chicago, Ill.	553,342	57.1	28,645	5.2	4.8
2	New York City, N.Y.	1,125,449	36.0	19,504	1.7	4.4
3	Philadelphia, Pa.	282,965	61.4	18,431	6.5	3.5
4	Duval County, Fla.	113,644	32.6	12,644	11.1	6.0
5	Cleveland, Ohio	145,196	57.6	11,988	8.3	6.4
6	Dallas, Texas	154,581	38.6	10,851	7.0	4.1
7	Jefferson Parish, La.	66,030	21.2	10,567	16.0	2.5
8	Prince Georges Cty., Md.	161,969	24.9	10,333	6.4	4.0
9	Milwaukee, Wis.	127,986	29.7	10,199	8.0	2.3
10	Orleans Parish, La.	103,839	74.6	9,734	9.4	3.5
11	Pittsburgh, Pa.	70,080	41.8	9,587	13.7	3.3
12	Memphis, Tenn.	138,714	57.8	9,367	6.8	2.9
13	Houston, Tex.	225,410	39.4	9,156	4.1	2.3
14	Indianapolis, Ind.	98,076	39.3	7,681	7.8	3.0
15	Pinellas County, Fla.	90,182	15.9	7,672	8.5	5.2
16	Baltimore County, Md.	131,987	4.2	7,167	5.4	2.6
17	Hillsborough County, Fla.	107,540	18.9	6,930	6.4	4.5
18	L. Baton Rouge Parish, La.	67,342	38.9	6,919	10.3	3.6
19	Caddo Parish, La.	52,336	49.8	6,857	13.1	2.8
20	Dade County, Fla.	241,809	26.4	6,812	2.8	7.5

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

TABLE 6
Twenty Worst Districts in the OCR Survey for All
Students by Percent of Children Suspended
Elementary and Secondary Combined

<i>Rank</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>Percent Black</i>	<i>Number Suspended</i>	<i>Percent Suspended</i>	<i>Average Length</i>
1	Gridley, Cal. ¹	631	0.5	258	40.9	0.8
2	Oroville, Cal. ¹	2,177	5.0	700	32.2	1.5
3	Joliet, Ill. ¹	6,460	18.0	2,069	32.0	3.7
4	Bloom, Ill. ¹	4,880	28.3	1,529	31.3	4.2
5	Bridgeton, N.J.	6,569	40.6	2,040	31.1	3.6
6	Drew, Miss.	1,384	85.0	399	28.8	8.6
7	Proviso, Ill. ¹	8,607	17.4	2,365	27.5	6.9
8	Downe, N.J.	358	24.0	97	27.1	2
9	Central, Cal. ¹	1,290	1.9	340	26.4	1.9
10	N. Burlington, N.J. ¹	2,293	8.9	577	25.2	2.0
11	Minidoka County, Idaho	5,105	0.2	1,276	25.0	2
12	Asbury Park, N.J.	2,874	63.6	715	24.9	2.7
13	N. Chicago C.H.S., Ill. ¹	1,384	45.6	344	24.9	3.0
14	Hughson, Cal. ¹	506	0.0	125	24.7	2.0
15	Bremen, Ill. ¹	6,290	8.9	1,501	23.9	4.9
16	Lower Camden County, N.J. ¹	4,269	15.1	1,014	23.8	3.7
17	Roseville, Cal. ¹	2,747	1.4	639	23.3	2.0
18	Lemoore, Cal. ¹	1,661	5.6	365	22.0	2.8
19	Thornton, Ill. ¹	10,533	24.1	2,260	21.5	5.3
20	S. Gloucester County, N.J. ¹	1,452	18.3	310	21.3	2.6

¹ These are regional high school districts, and contain higher than usual proportions of secondary students.

Their suspension rates are far higher than the average *secondary* school suspension rate of 8.0 percent.

² These districts failed to report the number of days of suspension.

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

Variations are even more striking when we look at communities within a state or geographic area. For example, Jacksonville, Florida suspended twice as many students as Miami, even though it was about half of Miami's size.

Similarly, in Ohio, Painesville, with less than one-fifth the enrollment, suspended more students than Canton.

That seemingly similar cities within a geographical area have dramatically different patterns in regard to suspension could reflect different behavioral patterns in children. What is more likely is that different school administrators and suspension policies accounted for the varied suspension rates.

TABLE 7
Comparison of Suspensions in Two Cities in Florida

	<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>Percent Black</i>	<i>Number Suspended</i>	<i>Percent Suspended</i>	<i>Average Length</i>
Duval (Jacksonville)	113,644	32.6	12,644	11.1	6.0
Dade (Miami)	241,809	26.4	6,812	2.8	7.5

Source. OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

TABLE 8
Comparison of Suspensions in Two Cities in Ohio

	<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>Percent Black</i>	<i>Number Suspended</i>	<i>Percent Suspended</i>	<i>Average Length</i>
Canton	19,701	20.8	322	1.6	4.7
Painesville	3,411	18.6	356	10.4	3.5

Source. OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

Characteristics of Suspended Children

School administrators are more likely to suspend children who are in secondary school, are black, male and poor.

Secondary School Students

Suspension rates are highest among secondary school students. OCR data showed that secondary students were nine times more likely to be

suspended than elementary students.⁷ CDF survey data confirmed our analysis of OCR findings that the vast majority of suspensions occurred at the secondary level. Ninety percent of the children we found suspended at least once were between 12 and 17 years old.⁸

⁷A school was coded as a secondary school if it contained any grade 9-12 or if it had more grades above 6 than below. Ordinary junior highs were considered as secondary schools.

⁸See *Children Out of School in America*, Appendix I, Table IV, p. 345.

Minority Groups

OCR data show that while the majority of suspended students were white (471,948 of the 927,729 suspended students whose ethnicity was identified), the suspension rates for blacks were much higher. In elementary school, blacks were suspended three times as often as whites (1.5 versus 0.5). In secondary school, blacks were almost twice as likely as whites to be suspended (11.8 versus 6.0).

While black youngsters are the most severely affected by suspensions, other minorities appeared in OCR data to be suspended at a lower rate than either black or white students. However, the suspension rate for Spanish-surnamed children appears lower chiefly because Spanish-surnamed students are less likely than white students to attend high school where most of the suspensions occur.⁹ For example, in Texas the total Spanish-surnamed suspension rate was 2.2 percent while the overall white rate was 2.1 percent. But for secondary students, the Spanish-surnamed rate was distinctly higher, at 5.2 percent, than the white suspension rate, 3.8 percent.¹⁰ Also, incomplete reports were given OCR by a handful of very large districts with a disproportionately large Spanish-surnamed enrollment.¹¹

Indian children constituted a small minority of

suspensions. However, in certain districts like Minneapolis, Minnesota, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma and Window Rock, Arizona, they too suffered suspensions in substantial numbers.¹²

Sex

OCR does not collect information about the sex of suspended children, but in our own survey, boys had higher suspension rates than girls (5.4 percent to 3.4 percent). This was true at the primary level as well for secondary students.¹³

Poverty

We also found that children from families receiving AFDC or other public assistance as their total or partial income were more likely to be suspended. Thirty-one percent of all the families we surveyed with school-age children received such assistance, but 46 percent of the children suspended lived in families receiving AFDC.

Children in single-parent (female-headed) families were also more likely to be suspended. Approximately 27 percent of all school-age children surveyed were from female-headed households, but 46 percent of all children suspended at least once were from such households.¹⁴

⁹Spanish-speaking children have one of the highest dropout rates of any group. About 26.1 percent do not complete high school. See U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1970 General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-C1 United States Summary*, Table 88.

¹⁰See Appendix B for twenty worst districts for Spanish-speaking children.

¹¹Los Angeles failed to report any suspensions at all, and 23.9 percent of its school enrollment is Hispanic. New York City, where 26.6 percent of the school enrollment is Hispanic, failed to identify the ethnicity of 75 percent of those suspensions it reported. Chicago, which has a substantial (11.1 percent) Mexican-American and Puerto Rican community, also failed to report ethnicity for over 28,000 suspensions.

¹²See Appendix B for twenty worst districts for Indian children.

¹³See *Children Out of School in America*, Table IV, pp. 127-129.

¹⁴See *Children Out of School in America*, Table VII, p. 134.



Chapter 4

Racial Discrimination in the Use of Suspension

Our primary and first goal is to curb suspension for all children. Our interim and urgent goal is to eliminate its arbitrary application against certain groups of children. No more disturbing problem exists than the harsh impact of suspension on black school children.

Black youngsters were suspended more than any other group of children. According to our analysis of OCR data for the 1972-1973 school year, 29 states suspended over 5 percent of their

total black enrollment. Only 4 states suspended 5 percent of their white students. Six states suspended 10 percent or more of their black students, no state suspended white students at this rate. At the secondary level, the disproportion is truly striking, one in every eight black children compared to one in every sixteen white children was suspended at least once during the 1972-1973 school year.

Many will say that higher black suspension

TABLE 1
Students Suspended at Least Once
During the 1972-1973 School Year
Suspension by Race

		Total Including Unden- tified	White	Black	Spanish	Indian	Asian
Elementary and Secondary	Number	1,012,347	471,948	392,437	57,402	3,955	1,987
	Percent Susp.	4.2%	3.1%	6.0%	2.7%	2.8%	1.1%
Secondary	Number	893,276	434,954	337,384	51,639	3,485	1,786
	Percent Susp.	8.0%	6.0%	11.8%	6.1%	5.6%	2.4%
Elementary	Number	119,071	36,994	55,053	5,763	470	201
	Percent Susp.	0.9%	0.5%	1.5%	0.4%	0.6%	0.2%

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

rates simply reflect greater misbehavior on the part of black students and not discrimination by school officials. We disagree. Not only have black parents and school children long charged racially discriminatory suspension practices, civil rights groups and other advocates are increasingly documenting and courts are making findings of racial discrimination in suits challenging suspension of minority children.¹ The director of OCR, Peter Holmes, has commented that "just a cursory examination of our data suggests the probability of widespread discrimination in the application of disciplinary sanctions."²

A recently appointed member of the Citywide Coordinating Council to help monitor the implementation of the decree in *Morgan v. Kerrigan*, the Boston school desegregation case, concurred with this view. He said:

I have closely observed the Boston public school system since my arrival in 1973, includ-

ing the reaction of the system to desegregation efforts in 1974-1975. I have become aware of tremendous disparities in the rates of suspension as between black and white students in the Boston public school system. Based on professional work, it is my professional opinion that the root cause of such disparities is the disbelief in, and disrespect for, the findings of Judge Garrity as to the history of racial discrimination in the Boston public schools, that this disbelief and disrespect pervade the entire structure of the Boston public schools, under the active leadership of the Boston School Committee, and are reinforced by those aspects of the wider Boston community with whom members of the Boston public schools identify. This climate and milieu within which teachers and administrators function bear directly on the racial disparity in suspensions, for the entire system is saturated by hostility to the court's desegregation order and to the black students who are perceived as having caused the order.

Whether one is talking about school

¹See a report by the American Friends Service Committee, Washington Research Project, Inc., et al., *The Status of School Desegregation in the South 1970*, (n.p., December, 1970) and *It's Not Over in the South: School Desegregation in Forty-Three Southern Cities 18 Years After Brown*, (n.p., May, 1972). See also *Children Out of School in America, The Student Pushout*, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, "The Problems of Suspension and Delinquency," July 3, 1973 (Internal Memorandum) Hayes Mizell, a two-part series "Suspensions: A Misused Tool" and "Abused Children, Misused Schools," (South Carolina) *Oscola*, January 24, 1975, January 31, 1975, p. 1, p. 6. See also South Carolina Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee, *Your Schools*, December, 1974-January, 1975 (A special report concerning suspensions among South Carolina students).

Beginning in the late 1960s, complaints by civil rights organizations and parents alerted OCR to the growing impact of discriminatory discipline on black students in desegregating schools. Along with other civil rights groups, we urged release in 1970 of an internal OCR memorandum specifically prohibiting racial discrimination in the discipline process. The OCR memorandum, captioned "Task Force Statement on In-School Discrimination, Final Draft July 14, 1970," and addressed to all school districts from F. Stanley Pottinger, would have prohibited among other things

Any act of school administrators or other responsible persons relating to the discipline of students (including expulsion and suspension) including but not limited to: acts, the effect of which is to deny to any student, on the basis of race, color or national origin, notice of those actions which constitute proscribed conduct, an opportunity for and the conduct of a fair hearing; punishment equal to that given other students with equivalent disciplinary background determined to have violated the same rule or regulation, participation in student rule formulation, and including any act of formulation or enforcement of rules or regulations the effect of which is in fact to discriminate against any student or students on the basis of race, color or national origin. (Any student dress or grooming code which is in fact only enforced or enforceable against students of a racial or national origin minority group or groups is discriminatory.)

This policy was never issued.

Examples of court reactions to racial disproportions in suspensions include *Hawkins v. Coleman*, 376 F. Supp. 1350 (N.D., Tex. 1974), *U.S. v. Wilcox County Bd. of Ed.*, Civil Action No. 3934-65-H (S.D., Ala., June 26, 1973) (unreported order or remand from *U.S. v. Wilcox County Bd. of Ed.*, 454 F. 2d 1144 (5th Cir., 1972)).

Peter F. Holmes to Richard W. Boone, Director, Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, Washington, D.C., May 29, 1974, p. 3.

discipline or any other aspect of the changes necessary in the Boston schools in order to bring about compliance with Judge Garrity's order, nothing less than substantial alteration in the central behavior and overall milieu generated by the top leadership of the Boston schools will bring about progressive change.

There are racially mixed secondary schools in the United States that are not characterized by these pathological levels of suspension; it is a comment on the pervasive pathology of Boston that school officials and community opinion leaders have made a policy of behaving as if no city has ever desegregated its schools prior to Boston in 1975. The absolute levels of suspensions, and the racial disparities within the suspensions, are both reflections of the continued belief by the Boston School Committee that they can say "Never" so far as adherence to the Constitution of the United States is concerned.¹

Some school officials are overtly hostile to black youngsters. Others are deeply insensitive to or ignorant about their needs. Offenses which pertain to all children sometimes are applied unequally against black children. For example, a black child may be suspended for fighting while the white combatant receives no punishment or a lesser punishment.² A black teacher at South Boston High relates how difficult it is for some of his white colleagues to deal with black youngsters or even to admit that they cannot.

Because I am black, I have been approached on a number of occasions by some white colleagues who, because of their admitted inexperience in dealing with black children, have sought my advice concerning an appropriate method of relating to their black students and of dealing with problem situations involving black children. It has been my practice to explain that black children tend to express their emotions more openly and



loudly than their white counterparts, that during the past year black students have found themselves in a new and often threatening situation which has resulted in a widespread feeling of defensiveness, and that neither blacks nor whites know the other with the result that there are a lot of misperceptions on both sides. I encourage my white colleagues, as I encourage both black and white students, to keep these factors in mind and to attempt to avoid over-reaction, in situations which may be personally threatening, based on such misperceptions.

I have observed other of my white colleagues, on several occasions, express open resentment when faced with such apparent

Affidavit in Morgan v. Kerrigan, Civil Action No. 72-911-G (D. Mass.) in support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Further Relief Concerning Student Discipline (seeking relief from discriminatory suspension practices)

¹An H.W. compliance review of discipline policies of the DeKalb County Schools in Decatur, Georgia, also stated "It is noteworthy that there was a disparity between black and white students as to the type of offense for which they were punished." Black children are suspended more

frequently "in these categories conditioned upon an administrator's subjective interpretation of rules and a confrontation between administrator and student" (William H. Thomas, Director, OCR Region IV to Dr. James H. Hinson, Superintendent of Schools, March 31, 1975, p. 9.)



misperceptions. In such a situation, the usual response from black students involved has been one of expressed resentment in return. In many cases, this has resulted in an escalation of the situation resulting in turn, in a disciplinary referral. I have observed, for example, a white teacher challenge the possession by a black student of a "pick" a style of Afro comb used by many black students for grooming purposes. The teacher's attempt to confiscate the comb resulted in resistance by the student and a confrontation. It is my belief that this situation occurred solely because of the inexperience of the people involved in relating to those of different cultural backgrounds. It is also my belief, based on personal experience and observation, that when an incident of apparent racial strife occurs, some white teachers see the black student as the original regressor and as the source of the con-

tinuing threat to school order, even when neither perception is true.

It has been my experience during the current school year that these attitudes and misperceptions exhibit themselves also on the part of administrators in my school. On or about March 3, 1975, I was responsible for a sixth period study hall in the cafeteria. A black student, _____, was attacked by a white youth without apparent provocation. [The black student] is a student in my Spanish class and known to me. [He] tended to wander about the classroom and the school and I earlier had recommended to Mr. _____, Assistant Headmaster, that [this student] be evaluated as a possible child with special needs or otherwise be provided with some special help. I have not known [this student] to be, and do not believe him to be, a violent person. Following the attack, [he] was handcuffed by police officers.

My request that I be allowed to speak to him was denied. Subsequently, _____ was suspended; he did not return to school for approximately one month. The white student who attacked him was escorted upstairs. His schedule was adjusted in order that he would be unlikely to come into contact with _____ during the normal course of the day. He was not suspended.

On January 27, 1975, at approximately 9:10 a.m., I was on my way to Room 205 and _____, a tall black student was walking several feet in front of me. Two white students ran from behind me and began punching [him] in the face and other parts of his body. I saw no provocation from _____ preceding the attack. _____ was caught by complete surprise and was almost defenseless. Several policemen quickly intervened and broke up the altercation. [The black student] was suspended, the white students were not. I submitted to the office a signed statement describing my observations.

Following requests by black teachers and students made in December, Dr. _____ of South Boston High School, appointed me a guidance counselor to assist black students with problems experienced at the school. I have been awarded a Master's degree in counseling and have completed additional work toward a doctorate in the same field. My counseling duties were in addition to my regular teaching duties. I was allowed to meet with students for one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon. Initially, I was provided with no office or other location in which to talk confidentially with students. In response to my complaints, however, I was provided with a desk in another person's office. Shortly thereafter that desk was assigned to a secretary. I was given no case load _____ during the first month two students were referred to me for counseling by the central office. Since then, I have seen no students in a counseling capacity. It is my belief that my appointment was made solely to quiet demands for a black counselor and that no meaningful attempt was made to enable black students to obtain any professional assistance which I may have been able to offer.⁶

Often black youngsters get into trouble for protesting against racially discriminatory programs and hostile school official attitudes.⁶ Some offenses seem particularly directed solely at black dress codes or styles.

Thirteen-year-old Sheila was suspended from her newly desegregated school for refusing to obey the principal's order that she remove her headscarf. She was permitted to wear her scarf last year in her black school.

Black Suspension Rates in Selected Districts

Of the 2,862 school districts represented in the OCR data, 67.9 percent of them showed higher black than white suspension rates. Although 32.1 percent of all the districts showed equal or lower suspension rates for black students, some of these districts simply had no black students. Other districts with minority enrollments maintained racially comparable suspension rates. Monessen City, Pennsylvania, suspended 117 or 6.0 percent of its 1,949 white students and 23 or 5.8 percent of its 397 black students. West Covina, California, which suspended relatively few of its 12,370 students overall, suspended whites and blacks at roughly equal rates (whites, 0.8 percent, blacks, 0.5 percent). In Framingham, Massachusetts the black suspension rate was less than the white (2.0 and 2.9, respectively).

gated schools systems exacerbates normal school tensions and brings to the surface fears and differences in culture and experience born of long years of racial separation, rampant suspension, like violence and resistance, is neither inevitable nor necessary. These problems occur when there is little or no leadership, planning, or preparation of parents, teachers and children by responsible officials.

Over the last decade countless black children have participated in demonstrations against racial segregation and discrimination in and outside of schools. A recent example of this was the suspension of 60 black students on November 19, 1974, in the Brookland-Caycee, South Carolina High School after they sang, clapped and attempted to present a list of grievances, including the recent firing of a black teacher. A subsequent complaint was filed with OCR after eight of them were arrested and expelled, five for the rest of the semester, three for the year.

⁶ Affidavit in *Morgan v. Kerrigan*, Civil Action No. 72-911-G (D. Mass.) (the Boston school suit) in support of Plaintiff's Motion for Further Relief Concerning Student Discipline (seeking relief from discriminatory suspension practices). While it is true that the transition from segre-

TABLE 2
Twenty Worst Districts in OCR Survey for Black Student Suspensions
(1972-1973)
Elementary and Secondary Schools Combined

Rank	District	Number Sus- pended	District	Percent Sus- pended
1	Cleveland, Ohio	8,412	Joliet, Ill. ¹	63.9
2	Orleans Parish, La.	7,993	Proviso, Ill. ¹	53.1
3	Duval County, Fla.	6,628	Bloom, Ill. ¹	49.6
4	Dallas, Independent, Tex.	6,324	Central Union, Calif. ¹	48.0
5	Memphis, Tenn.	6,173	Zion-Benton, Ill. ¹	47.2
6	Pittsburgh, Pa.	5,694	Roseville, Calif. ¹	43.6
7	Detroit, Mich.	5,560	Fremont, Ohio	42.2
8	Milwaukee, Wisc.	5,401	Worth, Ill. ¹	40.4
9	Houston, Tex.	5,181	Thorton, Ill. ¹	40.1
10	Indianapolis, Ind.	4,643	Merced Union, Calif. ¹	40.0
11	Prince Georges County, Md.	4,438	North Chicago, Ill. ¹	38.0
12	Caddo Parish, La.	4,262	Oroville Union, Calif. ¹	37.0
13	Jefferson Parish, La.	4,014	Millville, N.J.	36.5
14	E. Baton Rouge, La.	3,960	Monmouth, N.J. ¹	35.2
15	Dade County, Fla.	3,634	Ewing, N.J.	35.0
16	Atlanta, Ga.	3,354	Bremen, Ill. ¹	34.8
17	Richland County, S.C.	3,018	Delano, Calif. ¹	33.6
18	Richmond, Calif.	3,011	S. Gloucester County, N.J. ¹	33.2
19	Norfolk, Va.	2,882	Henderson, Ky.	33.0
20	Hillsborough County, Fla.	2,850	Sweetwater, Calif. ¹	32.2

¹ These are regional high school districts with larger than usual proportions of secondary students. Their suspension rates are far above the average black secondary suspension rate of 11.8 percent.

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

Twenty districts reported suspending one-third to one-half of their black student enrollments during the 1972-73 school year."

In looking at suspension data for black students we applied two criteria: the *rate* (the percent of black children who were excluded) and the *disproportion* (the difference between the suspension rates for black and white students). Both are important in evaluating how fair

a school system may be in its discipline practices. Comparing Birmingham and Mobile, Alabama, is a good illustration. Though no two cities are ever identical, these two are as similar as two U.S. cities are ever likely to be: located in the same state, with school systems roughly comparable in size and racial composition, and with fairly slight differences in the critical demographics pertaining to educational background. Birmingham has about equal suspension rates for black and white children; yet Mobile suspends black children at twice the rate of its white children.

Data for individual school districts cited throughout this chapter and not otherwise identified are shown in Appendix B

TABLE 3
Comparison of Two Alabama Cities

Characteristic	Birmingham	Mobile
Number of Students	57,719	66,263
Number of Schools	92	82
Percent White Students	40.5%	54.2%
Percent of Black Students	59.4	45.7%
Percent of Black Families Below Poverty Level	44.5%	45.1%
Median Years of Schooling	11.2	11.9
Number of Black Suspensions	1,391	1,253
Percent of Black Suspensions	4.1%	4.1%
Number of White Suspensions	904	704
Percent of White Suspensions	3.9%	2.0%

Source: For suspension data, OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations. Other figures from U.S. Bureau of the Census *County and City Data Book, 1972 (A Statistical Abstract Supplement)* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. (1973).

The 15 districts in the country suspending the largest number of black students also had the greatest disproportion of blacks suspended, far exceeding the white suspension rates.* The highest reported suspension rate for blacks in the OCR survey was in the Joliet Township High School District (a "regional" high school district with no elementary students) in Illinois. It suspended 63.9 percent of the 1,163 enrolled black students. But Joliet Township High School District *also* was the highest in the nation in the difference between its black suspension rate and its white suspension rate. It suspended 1,240 of

its 4,953 white students for a white suspension rate of 25.0 percent. The black rate, therefore, was 38.9 percent higher than the white rate. But the white rate was itself the seventh highest in the nation. Two other districts in Illinois, Proviso and Bloom, also showed the same striking pattern; they were among the 20 highest in the nation in white rates, black rates, and excess of black over white rates.

Yet it is also clear that some districts with substantial black enrollment do *not* suspend relatively large proportions of their black students. In fact, some cities had both low overall suspension rates and lower rates for blacks than whites.

*Of the 20 districts ranking highest in the nation by the *percent* of black students suspended, 15 of them also rank among the top 20 districts in the nation for the difference between the black suspension rate and the white rate. Of the 20 districts ranking highest in the nation by the *number* of black students suspended, 16 were also in the worst 20 when ranked by the excess number of black students suspended who would not have been suspended had black suspension rates been as low as white rates. There is an unmistakable pattern in our data showing that the districts where the impact of suspensions upon black students is heaviest are also the districts where the relative disparity between black and white rates is greatest. District rankings are presented in Appendix B.



TABLE 4
Selected Urban School Districts

	Enroll- ment	Percent Black	Number Sus- pended	Percent Suspended		Over- all
				White	Black	
Louisville, Kentucky	49,133	51.0	1,589	4.0	2.5	3.2
St. Louis, Missouri	105,617	68.8	2,799	2.7	2.6	2.7

Source. OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

If characteristics of black children were truly responsible for high black suspension rates, we would not find such districts where blacks are *not* suspended disproportionately. Whether administrators consciously enforce different forms of segregation, whether they merely reflect community values and attitudes, or whether they fail to deal flexibly and creatively with curricula, teacher training, and modes of maintaining a good learning environment, it is the behavior of

Fremont, with the lowest percent of blacks enrolled, has the highest suspension rate, yet the shortest average length of suspension. Sandusky, only twenty miles away but with a larger black population, had the second lowest rate, but the longest average time suspended. Shaker Heights, with a 30 percent black enrollment, had a very low overall suspension rate. Yet all of these cities, at whatever the level, suspended relatively more blacks than whites.⁹

TABLE 5
Selected Ohio School Districts

District	Enroll- ment	Percent Black	Number Sus- pended	Percent Suspended		Over- all	Aver- age Length
				White	Black		
Fremont	6,962	5.3	1,383	17.4	42.2	19.9	0.9
Xenia	8,271	11.3	576	6.5	11.0	7.0	5.48
Sandusky	6,943	24.4	362	2.7	12.5	5.2	12.63
Shaker Heights	7,097	30.0	153	1.4	3.9	2.7	2.63
East Cleveland	8,168	93.8	820	4.7	10.4	10.0	3.27

Source. OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

school administrators, rather than the behavior of children, which is in question.

A closer look at five Ohio towns of similar size but varying proportions of black enrollment shows that there is no distinct pattern in regard to school suspension policies except that blacks are frequently suspended more than whites and that varying policies and actions on the part of school administrators must account for the different patterns.

Of the 47 school districts reporting in Ohio, 41 had at least 50 black and 50 white students enrolled and reported their

suspensions. There were only 2 of those 41 districts in which the black suspension rates did not exceed the white rates. If the probabilities for suspension were equal for whites and blacks, the comparison between the rates should be analogous to flipping a fair coin. We would expect about an equal number of heads as tails, about an equal number of districts with higher white rates as with higher black rates. Instead, we found higher white rates only twice in 41 districts (as if we got heads only twice in 41 flips). That would happen by chance less than once in one hundred million times in the United States, black children find school suspensions a loaded coin. For a similar, but more extensive, examination of the suspension patterns in Connecticut, see Appendix B. In our mind, a *prima facie* case of discrimination should be presumed in the face of such improbabilities, until proven otherwise.

Racial Discrimination in CDF Survey Districts

Our CDF survey confirmed the patterns of discrimination indicated by OCR data.¹⁰ While 4.4 percent of all the children we surveyed were suspended at least once, 7.3 percent of the black children were suspended.

At the secondary level, black students in our survey were suspended more than three times as often as white students—12.8 percent compared with 4.1 percent. Suspension rates were particularly high in 8 of the 30 areas we surveyed where over 15 percent of the black secondary school students were suspended. In 6 areas over 20 percent of the black secondary school-age males were suspended. In 3 areas, over 30 percent of the black males were suspended. New Bedford, Massachusetts Census Tract 6510 with 36 percent, Sumter County, South Carolina Precinct 2 with 36 percent, and Columbia, South Carolina Census Tract 5 with 35 percent. In two areas, over 30 percent of the black secondary school-age females were suspended. Denver, Colorado Census Tract 41.01 with 31 percent; and New Bedford, Massachusetts Census Tract 6526 with 33 percent.¹¹

Frequency and Duration of Suspension

In May, 1975, OCR reported that "minority students are being kept out of school as a disciplinary measure more frequently and for longer periods of time than non-minority students."¹² Though minorities constituted only 38 percent of the OCR data enrollment, they suffered 54 percent of the suspension days.

¹⁰See *Children Out of School in America*, Appendices A and R.

¹¹See *Children Out of School in America*, Table IV, pp 127-129.

¹²HFW fact sheet, "Student Discipline," Office of the Secretary, Office for Civil Rights, May, 1975.

¹³Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and Portuguese children appear to be suspended even more often than blacks.

TABLE 6
Average Length of Suspensions for
Black and White Students

Group	Average Length of Suspensions			School Days Lost Per-100 Enrolled Students
	Elementary	Secondary	Total	
White	3.25	3.57	3.55	11.04
Black	3.91	4.55	4.46	26.74

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

Among those students suspended in CDF's survey data, 60 percent were suspended only once and 24 percent were suspended three or more times. Black students were suspended more repeatedly than white students.¹⁴ More black students (27 percent) than white students (only 11 percent) were suspended three or more times. White and black students were suspended twice at about the same rate: 16 percent and 15 percent, respectively. Fifty-eight percent of the black students were suspended once, but 73 percent of the white students were suspended once.¹⁵

A discriminatory pattern seems apparent from the frequency with which minority students are suspended. However, we found no apparent racial pattern to the duration of suspension in our survey.¹⁶ We found 297 secondary students suspended 569 times. We gathered information on the duration of 523 of these suspensions. Of these, 65 percent were for 1 to 3 days, 24 percent were for 4 or 5 days, 10 percent were for 6 to 10 days and 1 percent were for over 10 days.¹⁶

But since together they comprise 15 percent of all children surveyed and 11 percent of all suspensions of secondary students, the sample may be too small to be conclusive. For a complete table on frequency of suspensions for secondary school students, see *Children Out of School in America*, Appendix T, Table I.

¹⁴See *Children Out of School in America*, p. 132.

¹⁵For a complete table on duration of suspensions for secondary school students see *Children Out of School in America*, Appendix T, Table II.

¹⁶See *Children Out of School in America*, p. 132.

What Can Be Done?

Racial discrimination in the discipline process must be investigated and attacked with great urgency. Schools and administrators should examine the patterns of suspensions in their own districts and pay special attention to schools where the proportion of suspensions seriously exceeds the racial proportions in those schools. While many school officials say, without real examination, that racially disproportionate suspensions do not mean racial discrimination, that is too quick an answer, and their perception is not shared by many minority parents and school children. Since the appearance of justice is almost as important as its presence, minority parents and school children will continue to resort to the courts, to the federal government and to organized challenges to school systems in response to their perceived and real problems in the use of suspensions unless school officials take a real look at their practices. School administrators can no longer ignore the plain fact that many teachers lack the sensitivity and experience to meet the needs of minority children. They must be aware of how certain offenses may disproportionately impact on minority children and make preparation for changes in desegregating school systems. Because we fear that too many school officials will continue to take a defensive or ostrich-like posture whenever the issue of racial discrimination or insensitivity is raised, and because the harm to so many minority children is so great, we are urging a strong federal enforcement effort in this area. State legislatures and state departments of education should assume much more compliance responsibility in this area, particularly by requiring better reporting from local school districts and written policies on suspensions and fair hearing procedures.

A Federal Compliance Program to Combat Racial Discrimination in School Discipline Is Necessary

OCR has shirked its responsibility to investigate and correct racial discrimination in school discipline. In 1973 *The Student Pushout*

called attention to the increasing problem of black school disciplinary pushouts in southern desegregating schools. But although OCR Director Holmes acknowledged the problem of black student pushouts in Congressional testimony and in response to the groups issuing the report,¹⁷ he has dragged his feet in adopting any compliance policy or in undertaking any civil rights enforcement program in this area. Before July, 1975, only one single-purpose discipline compliance review had been initiated.¹⁸ To date only four discipline reviews have been conducted. No school district has been denied federal funds because of discrimination in school discipline even after a finding of discrimination has been made.¹⁹

Peter I. Holmes, Testimony before Subcommittee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, May 21, 1974, and Peter E. Holmes to Richard W. Boone, Director, Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, Washington, D.C., May 29, 1974.

In July, 1973, OCR began a compliance review in Anne Arundel County in response to written complaints of racial discrimination in school discipline practices and for a pre-grant clearance under the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) (ESAA regulations require in 45 CFR 185.43(d)(4) that any school system be ineligible for ESAA funds which imposes disciplinary sanctions, including expulsions, suspensions, or corporal or other punishment, in a manner which discriminates against minority group children on the basis of race, color, or national origin." This Anne Arundel County compliance review has not been completed because of the school officials' refusal to cooperate by making relevant documents, records, and personnel available to OCR as required by regulation 45 CFR Sec. 80.6, and because of OCR's slowness to respond to this lack of cooperation. In November 1974, the Justice Department filed suit against Anne Arundel County in federal district court under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, requesting the court to order Anne Arundel County school officials to cooperate with OCR. In May 1975, the court did order such cooperation with the OCR investigation. OCR is now in the process of completing the review and analyzing its findings. It has made as yet no formal findings of noncompliance.

¹⁹OCR has initiated single-purpose, on-site reviews of school discipline practices in four school districts: Anne Arundel County, Maryland, Akron, Ohio, Richland County #1



On December 19, 1974, immediately following publication of *Children Out of School in America* which described once more the grossly dis-

proportionate suspension rates for minority children shown by both our analysis of OCR 1972-73 data and by our own survey data, we wrote OCR Director Holmes a detailed letter about our findings and expressed our concern with "the strikingly disproportionate impact of disciplinary exclusions on minority children which require your *immediate* and *comprehensive* action." We urged OCR to draft and disseminate a specific compliance policy under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawing racial discrimination in disciplinary policies and practices and to design a specific compliance program for adoption and enforcement so that "thousands upon thousands of children are not to be lost to the educational process because of racially discriminatory or otherwise arbitrary and unnecessary school suspensions."²⁰ We set

of Columbia, South Carolina, and Nacogdoches, Texas. No further findings of noncompliance have been made.

OCR has examined discipline policies and practices as a part of on-site reviews conducted under OCR pre- and post-grant ESAA review responsibilities in New York City, under its "big city review" program, and during reviews triggered because of segregation in the assignment of students and faculty. The only findings of noncompliance in school discipline have been as a result of ESAA reviews. In 1975 three school districts—Richland County, South Carolina, Dawson and Tenaha, Texas—were ruled ineligible to receive ESAA funds because of discrimination in discipline practices. Richland and Dawson applied for and received waivers of their ineligibility. Noncompliance under ESAA is also noncompliance under Title VI, but OCR has notified none of these districts that they are out of compliance with Title VI because of discrimination in school discipline.

proportionate suspension rates for minority children shown by both our analysis of OCR 1972-73 data and by our own survey data, we wrote OCR Director Holmes a detailed letter about our findings and expressed our concern with "the strikingly disproportionate impact of disciplinary exclusions on minority children which require your *immediate* and *comprehensive* action." We urged OCR to draft and disseminate a specific compliance policy under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawing racial discrimination in disciplinary policies and practices and to design a specific compliance program for adoption and enforcement so that "thousands upon thousands of children are not to be lost to the educational process because of racially discriminatory or otherwise arbitrary and unnecessary school suspensions."²⁰ We set

Marian Edelman to Peter T. Holmes, December 19, 1974

forth five specific ways OCR might combat discrimination in disciplinary exclusion from public schools. Because three of the compliance tests we suggested were statistical, on February 14, 1975, we forwarded a second detailed letter to director Holmes including "our analysis of how these statistical tests would in fact operate after applying them to 15 school districts in the State of Connecticut."²¹ CIDE staff met once with Mr. Holmes and subsequently with other OCR staff on numerous occasions to discuss these issues as well as the weaknesses in OCR's survey data and procedures.²²

To date, no compliance policy has been adopted. In part this has been the result of past and current negative presidential leadership on issues of racial segregation and discrimination in public schools; a public perception of judicial retreat after the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Detroit school case on metropolitan relief,²³ and the threatened Congressional retreat reflected in the near passage in December, 1974 of the Holt Amendment.²⁴

Black leaders from Anne Arundel County, Maryland, testifying at recent hearings about the Holt Amendment, complained that "Over two

years have passed since black parents or students initially filed complaints with the Office for Civil Rights." They thought it was crucial "that politics no longer be used as a means to impede the investigation . . . We no longer can afford to play games about the children's education . . . and must see to it that all children in Anne Arundel County receive a good quality education." They concluded that

It is important for Black people to have faith in the basic fairness of the system. We must feel that there is an avenue open for us to air our grievances. HEW is quite open, in the area of discrimination, the only option left for us.²⁵

We agree. We place the highest priority on OCR's adoption and enforcement of an adequate compliance program in this area. While it would be easy to blame the threatened Holt Amendment for OCR's inaction, it must be remembered that Anne Arundel was the first OCR on-site investigation in the area of school discipline.

We propose OCR's adoption of the compliance policy below to prevent and eliminate racial discrimination in school discipline. Under our proposed policy, racially disparate suspension

²¹ Marian Edelman to Peter F. Holmes, February 14, 1975.

See Appendix C for correspondence.

²² *Milkien v. Bradley*, 418 U.S. 717, 94 S.Ct. 3112 (1974).

²³ Congresswoman Marjorie Holt of Anne Arundel County (Annapolis), Maryland objected to HEW's effort to get more facts about her uncooperative school district's racially disproportionate suspension rates after complaints from black community leaders, parents and school children. She introduced an Amendment to the HEW supplemental appropriations bill to prohibit, among other things, the preparation or maintenance of "any records, files, reports, or statistics pertaining to the race of teachers and students." She understood that if HEW could not collect racial data, it could not prove the existence of racial discrimination. HEW Secretary Weinberger, commenting on its adoption by the House of Representatives, said that "the Amendment ends our basic authority to enforce civil rights laws" (Casper Weinberger to Senator Warren G. Magnuson, Chairman, Subcommittee on Labor and Health, Education and Welfare, Committee on Appropriations, U.S. Senate, De-

cember 2, 1974, p. 1). The Amendment was finally rejected by the Senate. Anxious to get home for the holidays, House members dropped their fight to get it adopted. But the political and psychological damage had been done. Meanwhile, the U.S. Department of Justice filed a lawsuit to secure OCR access to the records from Anne Arundel school officials on November 19, 1974. On February 21, 1975, a federal district judge ruled, according to Director Holmes, "that no federal or state law restricts OCR's access to relevant information, including information which the school district contended was confidential and therefore not releasable. A final order is still pending in the case." (Statement of Peter F. Holmes, Director, Office for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education and Welfare before the Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, regarding Oversight Hearings on the Administration and Enforcement of the Civil Rights Act in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, April 30, 1975.)

²⁵ Statement of the Coalition for Justice before the Subcommittee on Education, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Regarding Oversight Hearings on the Administration and Enforcement of the Civil Rights Act in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, April 30, 1975.

rates would trigger inquiry into the objective fairness of disciplinary procedures and policies of a school system. Specifically, school districts may overcome a presumption of racial discrimination evidenced by disproportionate racial suspension figures by adopting and enforcing objectively fair procedures as set out below and by eliminating disciplinary offenses which disproportionately impact on minority group children. In the absence of such fair procedures and policies, a system reaching certain defined racially disproportionate suspension rates will be presumed to be discriminatory against minority children in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Proposed D/HEW Office for Civil Rights Discipline Policy

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, and the Departmental Regulations (45 C.F.R. Part 80) promulgated thereunder, prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin or sex in the operation of any federally assisted programs. In 1968, pursuant to section 80.6(a) and 80.12(b) of the HEW Title VI Regulations, the Office for Civil Rights issued "Policies on Elementary and Secondary School Compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," which set out the requirements elementary and secondary schools must follow in order to comply with Title VI. The 1968 Policies apply to all public school services, facilities, activities and programs including school and school system discipline policies and practices.

In recent years it has become apparent that widespread and systematic discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin and sex is taking place in the use of school discipline policies and practices, especially in suspension and expulsion from school. Review of the data collected annually by the Office for Civil Rights from public elementary and secondary schools serving over 50 percent of all public school children show in many school systems large disproportions between minority and non-minority students in the use of suspension and expulsion from school. These data also show

that minority students are being suspended for longer periods than nonminority students. Further, compliance reviews conducted in several school systems pursuant to Title VI and to civil rights assurances contained in Emergency School Aid Act applications have revealed a number of discipline practices which discriminate against minority students.

This is to supplement the 1968 Policies by clarifying its policy under Titles VI and IX concerning discipline practices which interfere with the provision of equal educational opportunities to minority students or students of a single sex. Where discrimination in school discipline practices exists, school systems are under an affirmative obligation to eliminate the discriminatory practices immediately and to prevent new discriminatory practices from developing or past ones from redeveloping.

The Office for Civil Rights annually reviews information on suspensions and expulsions submitted by school systems on the OCR Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey. On the basis of that information, as well as information derived from investigations and from complaints, OCR should determine a school district's compliance with Title VI and Title IX in the imposition of discipline, under the following standards:

- 1 Where, in any school within a school system, the imposition of expulsions and suspensions (exclusionary discipline) results in substantially greater exclusion of minority group students than all other students, as defined in paragraph 2 below, the school district will be found in violation of Title VI and or Title IX unless it can demonstrate that its discipline system is nondiscriminatory under the standards set forth in paragraph 3, below.

- 2 A school will be considered to be imposing substantially greater disciplinary exclusion on students of a minority group if any of the following factors are present:

- a. The number of expulsions of students of any minority group as a percentage of all students in that group exceeds by 10 percent the comparable percentage for all other students;

b The number of suspensions of students of any minority group as a percentage of all students in that group exceeds by 10 percent the comparable percentage for all other students;

c The average length of suspensions of students of any minority group is greater by one-half day than the average length of suspensions of all other students.

3. Where required to do so under the terms of paragraphs 1 and 2, a school system can demonstrate that its discipline policies and practices are non-discriminatory only if each of the following factors are shown:

a. The school system has promulgated written procedures governing the imposition of exclusionary discipline, has distributed them to all students at the beginning of the school year, has posted them in a conspicuous place in each school and has followed them in all cases resulting in exclusionary discipline. At a minimum, these procedures must include the following guarantees:

(1) Written notice of the disciplinary proceeding, specifying that expulsion or suspension is being considered, identifying the rule or regulation allegedly violated; stating the facts giving rise to the proceeding; stating the time and place of a hearing, which may be rescheduled upon a parent's request, and explaining the student's procedural rights.

(2) In cases of expulsion or suspension for more than three days, the right to a hearing before an impartial hearing officer who is not assigned to the school attended by the student; in the case of suspension for three days or less, a hearing before a school official that was not involved in the incident giving rise to the suspension. The hearing shall precede the imposition of discipline, except where the retention of the student in school until the hearing would pose a serious threat to other individuals or to property of substantial value. In such a case, the hearing shall be scheduled as soon after the initial exclusion as will permit the student to prepare and his or her parents or guardian to attend;

(3) The right to representation by a third

party at the hearing, the right to confront and cross examine adverse witnesses and the right to present witnesses and other evidence in defense;

(4) Written decisions based on the record of the hearing, stating the reasons for the action taken;

(5) Right to appeal the hearing officer's decision.

b. The school system has adopted, with the participation of parents and students, a Code of Student Conduct; has distributed the Code to all students at the beginning of the school year; has posted it in a conspicuous place in all of its schools and has followed it in all cases resulting in exclusionary discipline. The Code must specifically define each offense for which exclusionary discipline may be imposed and specify the maximum penalty that may be imposed for each offense. The Code may not include vague or overly subjective definition of offenses, such as:

"Any misconduct which is in conflict with reasonable conduct."

"Disrespect to a teacher."

"Conduct unbecoming a student."

"Insubordination."

c The school system does not use exclusionary discipline with respect to any student unless, in the past, less drastic alternative forms of discipline have been imposed on that student and have proved inadequate to deter serious misconduct.

d The school system does not use exclusionary discipline for any offense that is committed in significantly greater numbers by students of any minority group than by all other children except for offenses involving violence or threats of violence against persons or property of substantial value.

e. The school system maintains on a current basis a log of all exclusionary discipline which reflects for each instance of exclusionary discipline, the following information:

(1) Student's name;

(2) Nature of offense;

(3) Description of the offense;

- (4) Date and form of notice.
- (5) Date of hearing and name of hearing officer;
- (6) Whether parent or guardian attended the hearing;
- (7) A description of the decision taken;
- (8) Appeal proceeding, if any.
- (9) Date of student readmission.

In addition, the school system must have established and maintained records as set forth in the 1975 Memorandum for Chief State School Officers sent by Peter F. Holmes, Director of the Office for Civil Rights, entitled "Record Keeping on Student-Discipline Procedures Actions in School Districts."²⁶

4. Notwithstanding any of the provisions above, a school system will be in violation of Title VI and Title IX, with respect to its exclusionary discipline practices, if any of the following conditions appear:

a. Discipline is imposed for violation of any rule that is in fact enforceable only against students of a particular racial or national origin group or against students of a single sex. Examples of such rules are prohibitions on certain height, lengths or styles of hair (braids, cornrows, afros, etc.), on certain instruments of grooming (afro picks), or on certain styles of clothing, exclusion from regular classroom activities after a certain length of pregnancy, restrictions on pregnant girls, married students, and student parents which in fact only restrict the activities of members of one sex ("married students cannot play varsity football" or "pregnant girls prohibited from Honor Society membership").

b. Students are excluded from school attendance on account of truancy or tardiness, where in any school proportionately more minority children than all other children are in violation of such a rule.

c. Students are disciplined for any offense which relates to conditions of poverty and in any school proportionately more minority

students than all other students are in violation of such rules. Examples of such offenses are failure to buy textbooks, workbooks, gym suits and other equipment, failure to replace lost or broken equipment; or failure to pay school fees;

d. There is a greater average length of suspension of minority students than all other students for the same offense or for the repetition of the same offense.

e. Where any school discipline rule is enforced against minority students and not enforced against other students.

f. Where individual discrimination in discipline against a minority group student is shown.

School systems should examine current practices which exist in their systems in order to assess their compliance with this policy. A school system which determines that compliance problems currently exist should communicate immediately in writing with the Office for Civil Rights and indicate what steps are being taken to remedy the situation. Where the Office for Civil Rights finds discrimination in school system discipline practices, a plan to remedy the situation must be developed by the school system. The plan must be submitted to and approved by the Office for Civil Rights. Documentation of compliance with the plan will be required annually. Assistance in developing the plan may be requested from the federally-funded Desegregation Assistance Centers. The plan must be widely distributed in the local community served by the school system.

It is the responsibility of the school system to develop an appropriate plan to remedy discrimination in school discipline practices. Its effectiveness and continuing approval will be judged by the results of future discipline practices. A plan to remedy discrimination in school discipline must include the elements set forth in paragraph 3 above and must correct any conditions present which are listed in paragraph 4 above.

Other appropriate remedies for school systems to consider in addition include.

²⁶It is our understanding that this memorandum was to be issued at the time this report went to print.

1 In-service training programs for teachers and administrators designed to improve their skills and develop alternative techniques for meeting the instructional and discipline needs of minority students and students of one sex with persistent school conduct problems.

2 Development of a program for the diagnosis and treatment of students with persistent conduct problems which result largely from academic difficulties caused by learning handicaps.

3. Development of a cooperative relationship with community agencies, both public and private, which can provide supportive services, technical assistance and community support for the system's program to eliminate discrimination in school discipline practices.

4 Development of a program to identify, evaluate and provide in-service training, techni-

cal assistance and other aid to those teachers and administrators in whose classes or schools there are a consistently high or disproportionate number of minority students or students of one sex who are disciplined by the teacher or administrator for alleged conduct problems.

5. Establishment of a systemwide and or school-parent committee to plan, advise about and oversee school discipline policies and practices.

Definitions

1. "Suspension" means the exclusion of a pupil from school for one through twenty days for disciplinary reasons.

2. "Expulsion" means the exclusion of a pupil from school for over twenty days for disciplinary reasons.

Chapter 5

The Notion of Offense and Due Process

Suspensions and Substantive Due Process

We believe that important substantive changes must be made in the ways schools react to suspension. They include the following first steps:

1. *Offenses resulting in suspension should be limited to only those actions which pose serious and immediate harm to people or property.*

Pruning offenses is the key to warding off ever-increasing resort to administrative and judicial hearings by parents and children. Promiscuous, unnecessary and unfair grounds for suspension renders suspension ineffective as a disciplinary tool, builds resentment in the families and children affected, overburdens the administrative processes of schools by encouraging more and more challenge, and denies children education when less drastic means are or ought to be available. The key to preventing "over-judicializing" of the school system is limiting exclusion to serious offenses involving violence against person and property; in sum, emergency suspensions.¹

This standard is not so extreme from what others are beginning to recommend. Resolutions on the use of suspensions and expulsions passed by three important organizations—the American Association of School Administrators, the Council of Chief State School Officers, and the National League of Cities—are moving towards this view. American Association of School Administrators, *Resolutions 1974*, (in p. 1974). See Number

Some offenses should be eliminated forthwith, income-related "offenses" such as inability to pay school fees, buy or rent textbooks and other school materials, and status "offenses" such as pregnancy, marriage and parenthood. Children with medical, emotional and psychological problems should not be suspended. They should be referred to the appropriate medical or mental health services. Additionally, we hope that many offenses which are currently grounds for suspension will merit some other type of school response. For example, exclusion from school for tardiness and truancy are not offenses so disruptive of the education of others as to require denial of education. Similarly, offenses such as smoking, which result in a lot of children being thrown out of school might be cut down or

10. "Minority Student Displacement," p. 7, and Number 22. "Noncompliant Student," p. 11. Council of Chief State School Officers, "Policies and Resolutions," Adopted by Council of Chief State School Officers' Annual Business Meeting, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, November 20, 1974. See IV. Leadership in Education, I-Corrections Education. National League of Cities, "1975 Policy on Public Safety as Relates to Education," Adopted at Annual Business Session, December 5, 1974.

There is an obvious and serious danger in "emergency" suspensions that stems less from the suspension itself than from the possibility that a suspension will be placed on a child's records as a disciplinary offense. This should never be done unless the child's "guilt" is clearly established in a fair hearing held soon after the event threatening violence or public safety. It is precisely in emergency situations that calm fact-finding is unlikely and which renders the need for hearings so vital.



eliminated simply by setting aside a smoking area, showing films and having classes about the health hazards of smoking, or through some kind of personal counseling.²

As Ken Haskins stated in Chapter 1: "the rules of your school define a discipline problem. If you have a rule that there is no talking in class if you talk you are a discipline problem. We tried to see if we could live without rules that were particularly school rules."³ And it worked.

We are aware that some state statutes prohibit minors from smoking. Where this is the case, we expect school officials will make students aware of the law. However, in states where it is not against the law for minors to smoke, but where state and local fire regulations may prohibit smoking within school buildings, we have noted that school officials nonetheless permit teachers to smoke. While we recognize that adults should perhaps have greater choices in this regard, it does not justify the violation of a rule. Children will find it difficult to fathom such a distinction.

²See interview with Ken Haskins, former Principal, Morgan Elementary School, Washington, D.C., in Chapter 1 of this report.

2. *Create Sound Alternatives Within Schools and Adopt Flexible Curricula.*

Once unfair and unnecessary grounds for discipline are eliminated, great priority should be placed on developing a variety of sound alternative services and programs for children who do commit offenses that should be treated as discipline problems but not excluded. Care should be taken that these in-school alternatives do not become new exclusionary devices but rather foster continuity in a child's education and a sense of ongoing responsibility to himself or herself and to the school community.

The single most important solution to discipline problems is effective schooling. Children who are able to read, are learning, and who feel respected are unlikely to become major discipline problems. Children who are bored, unable to add and subtract, read or who have special problems that go unrecognized and unmet will predictably cause difficulty in schools or will drop out.

Diversified curricula and modes of teaching must be adopted. Schools must recognize that not all children fit into a single mold. They must attempt to provide interesting and flexible curricula and teaching approaches to meet the human variations among their charges. Particular attention should be given to the transition pressures for children entering junior high school. Merely the change in size of school, place of school, the different scheduling and teachers to relate to after elementary school is a major shift for children. State departments of education and the federal government should recognize these needs and alter their funding patterns appropriately to make funds available for the design, demonstration, evaluation and technical assistance to local school districts to implement more and better alternative programs in public schools.⁴ In addition, continuing support for teachers and principals must be provided.⁵

⁴For further discussion of alternatives within schools, see Chapter 6 of this report. See also Chapter 6, South Carolina Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee, *Your Schools*, Vol. 6, No. 6, May 1975.

⁵Schools of education and professional associations should



3. Write and Widely Disseminate Discipline Policies.

Children and parents, as well as teachers, must know what is expected of them, what the consequences of breaking these expectations are, and

also take responsibility for teaching teachers—both pre- and in-service—to handle children with discipline problems. It has been said too many times before that beginning teachers do not get enough practical experience in classrooms early in their training to know whether they can operate successfully in a classroom or what the real, daily problems are. In addition, preparation for teaching children with learning, emotional or other problems, which can turn into or aggravate discipline problems, is rarely given to a beginning teacher. Too few courses, even after graduation, are geared to enlightening attitudes and to teaching alternative techniques of dealing with troubled children. But every class will have several discipline problems. It is a gross disservice to teachers and children not to offer knowledge and guidance in this area. If research is needed to improve teaching these children, it should be undertaken at universities cooperating with public schools. Courses, workshops, summer sessions and literature should be offered through universities and professional organizations to help teachers help children

that there will be consistent and fair enforcement of these expectations. Good discipline cannot be achieved without clear standards. Current arbitrary, school by school, teacher by teacher rules are both unfair and deserve the very end they seek. They also build in distrust of authority.

Officials should publish and widely disseminate any grounds for suspension, the punishments that will pertain where possible,² and the procedures that will be followed for such acts, to all children and parents in a simple, readable form and in the dominant language of parents. Parents and children should be informed of their responsibilities and of their rights at the beginning of each school term. In Appendix G we include a sample discipline code for guidance.

4. Suspensions Should Always Be A Last Resort.

Schools should show that they have exhausted every less drastic means to correct a child's discipline problem. Alternative measures prior to suspension—such as conferences with the child and his or her parents, school counseling, physical check-up, psychological diagnosis, placement in alternative classes or school—should be tried prior to exclusion. We found too many school officials who used suspension as a first rather than a last drastic means to correct a child's behavior problem.

5. Prior Hearing for Emergency Suspensions Must Be Provided.

As we have discussed earlier, suspensions in emergencies or for serious offenses should be accompanied by a prior hearing with a chance for children and parents to be heard or by a prompt hearing immediately thereafter in cases of dire emergency. An impartial hearing officer or a panel consisting of students, teachers, parents and administrators should be designated to handle such proceedings in an informal but fair way. The parent and child should have available an advocate who need not, however, be an

We are not proposing mandatory sentences. School officials must be free to meet the needs of individual students who may have mitigating circumstances in a given case.

attorney, unless the parent and child prefer an attorney.

6 *Violent and Seriously Disruptive Children Should Not Be Suspended.*

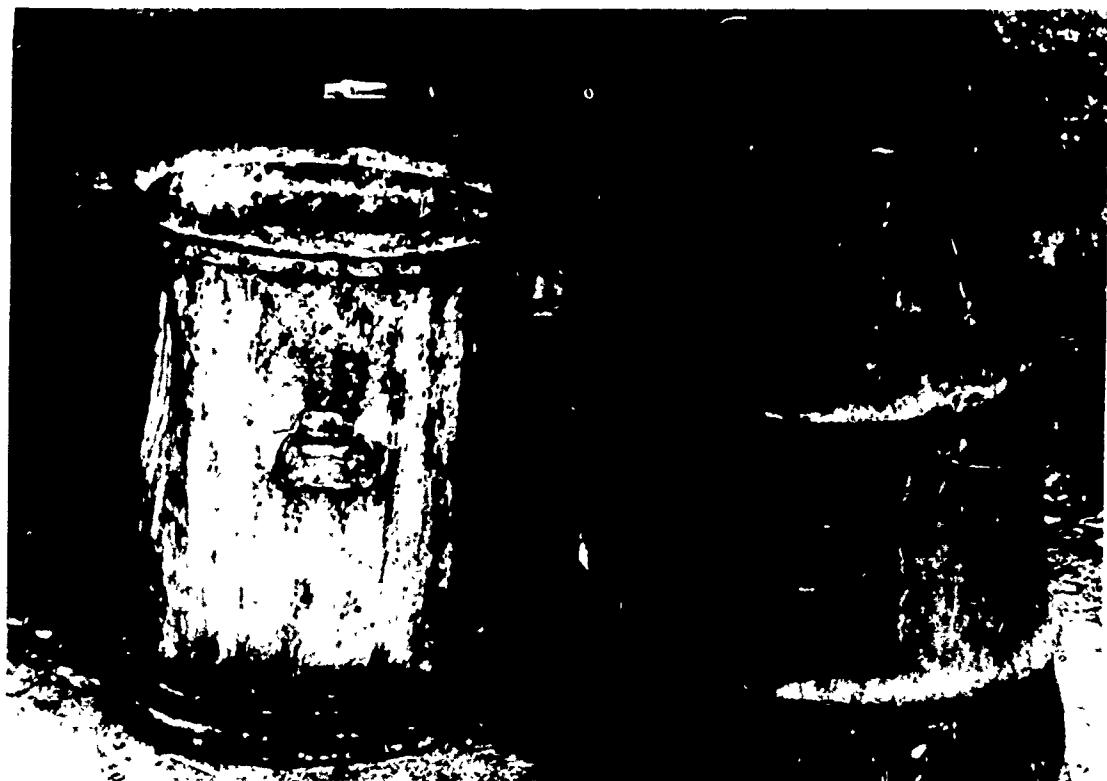
All children are entitled to a safe environment. They are also entitled to learn. School officials are not judges or psychiatrists. Violence perpetrated by anyone in a school cannot be condoned. Seriously disruptive children ought, therefore, to be removed from a class temporarily when the teacher is unable to control the child. The child, however, should not be discarded. His or her problem should be diagnosed and treated.

For the most serious deeds which are chargeable offenses under the juvenile justice system, suspension is inappropriate. And in fact, violent children are usually expelled, or given "statutory" suspensions of long duration. That their alleged crimes took place on school grounds need not remove them from the purview of the juvenile authorities. Murder, rape and

pushing drugs are among the serious crimes that should be dealt with swiftly, decisively and with due process. Though they are a miniscule portion of the offenses committed by students, they hold extraordinary consequences.

Some school officials are understandably reticent to refer children who commit serious offenses to already overloaded and often ineffective juvenile authorities or to the police, whom they feel will provide little help and do only harm. But the solution is not the street. If we stopped pushing massive numbers of children out of school for trivial reasons who are thereby more likely to get into difficulty, perhaps our juvenile justice system could more effectively deal with those who genuinely need to be deterred and helped."

We do not mean to suggest that the problem of what to do with children who commit serious crimes or who are seriously deranged is not complicated. Neither schools, the juvenile justice nor the mental health systems have established programs or settings in sufficient quantity or of



Other serious offenses that may not be subject to court jurisdiction may nevertheless present serious problems that require referral to a specialized agency for help. Schools themselves lack the competence and the services to identify and treat their needs. However, it is entirely inappropriate for a school to suspend children whose problems are beyond its ability to handle and dump them into the streets. They should turn them over to the appropriate institution which can retain responsibility for diagnosis and treatment. Protection of the child and the public so dictates.

Suspensions and Procedural Due Process

No amount of procedural protection can cure the basic illogic and harm of using school suspension in most disciplinary situations. But until schools change the way they discipline students, they must, at the very least, use suspensions in a fair manner. Too many districts have not yet taken this minimum step.

sufficient quality to help these children. There must be guidelines, however, governing the schools' responsibility toward these students because, under natural pressures to protect the safety of other innocent children, they almost invariably choose to send a troubled child home, *without transferring responsibility for the continuing well-being of that child to any other institution.* The schools do not have the capacity to determine whether a child poses a danger to himself or others, that's the court's job. The schools do not have the capability to determine if a child is unable to profit from schooling, that is the mental health professionals' job. It is in the schools' purview, however, to see that the child benefits from these other institutions' determinations, indeed, to make sure he does not fall between the cracks and actually receives the diagnosis and treatment agreed upon. Further, it is the schools' responsibility *not* to deny schooling when those who are capable of making those decisions say that the child should be in school. So, for example, if a juvenile court does not find a child guilty or determines that he should return to school, schools should not override the court's decision by suspension or other exclusionary devices. If we are afraid that the mental health or juvenile justice systems will not deal with children as well as the schools, then we ought to think seriously about reforming them and not continue to place demands on schools they cannot meet.

Over the years, suspensions have resulted in many lawsuits. These lawsuits revealed what had been going on in the schools, the utter lack of procedural regularity that permitted, even encouraged, easy and unjustified resort to the sanction of suspension. But for years the courts would not open their eyes to these facts. Their vision was clouded by a fog of legal doctrine that shrouded the decisions of school administrators to throw out their students.

To support their position, the administrators could draw on a whole grab-bag of conceptualisms: that attendance . . . was a privilege rather than a right; that . . . [the school] stood *in loco parentis* to the student; or that the vague rules . . . that a student could be dismissed whenever the institution thought this advisable, constituted a contract that the student had accepted.⁸

The power of the administrators was absolute, their abuse of it unreviewable. Few questioned this legal orthodoxy.

One who did, Professor Warren Seavey, wrote in 1957:

[O]ur sense of justice should be outraged by denial to students of the normal safeguards. It is shocking that the officials of a state educational institution, which can function properly only if our freedoms are preserved, should not understand the elementary principles of fair play. It is equally shocking to find that a court supports them in denying to a student the protection given to a pickpocket.⁹

In 1961, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit held in *Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education*¹⁰ that "due process requires notice and some opportunity for hearing before a student . . . is expelled for misconduct." The court reasoned that a hearing was required because

⁸Charles Alan Wright, "The Constitution on Campus," 22 *Vanderbilt Law Review* 1030 (1969).

⁹Warren A. Seavey, "Dismissal of Students: Due Process," 70 *Harvard Law Review* 140 (1957).

¹⁰*Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education*, 294 F.2d 150, 158 (5th Cir. 1961) cert. denied, 368 U.S. 930.

a charge of misconduct, as opposed to a failure to meet the scholastic standards of the college, depends upon a collection of facts concerning the charged misconduct, easily colored by the point of view of the witnesses.¹¹

It held that a student is entitled to a hearing before the dismissal and that it must involve "the rudiments of an adversary proceeding."¹²

Slowly other courts adapted the *Dixon* holding to other, similar, situations. It was applied to suspension from a state college,¹³ to expulsion from a public high school¹⁴ and, then, to suspension from a public high school.¹⁵ During the early 1970s prior hearings were required for a suspension of 40 days,¹⁶ and then for a suspension of 10 days¹⁷ but not for a suspension of five days¹⁸ or three days.¹⁹ Yet the courts seemed to assume that some kind of hearing should be held in cases of shorter suspensions.²⁰

Next the courts recognized, that even a suspension of a few days could work substantial harm to a child.²¹ One court required a formal

Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education, *supra*, at 158-159.

Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education, *supra*, at 159.

See, for example, *Esteban v. Central Missouri State College*, 277 F. Supp. 649 (W.D. Mo. 1967).

See, for example, *Fought v. Van Buren Public Schools*, 306 F. Supp. 1388 (E.D. Mich. 1969).

See, for example, *Williams v. Dade County School Board*, 441 F.2d 299 (5th Cir. 1971).

Williams v. Dade County School Board, *supra*.

Black Students of North Fort Myers Jr.-Sr. High Schools v. Williams, 470 F.2d 957 (5th Cir. 1972).

Jackson v. Hepinstall, 328 F. Supp. 1104, 1106 (S.D.N.Y. 1971).

Late v. Board of Education, 453 F.2d 975 (8th Cir. 1972).

See, for example, *Bank v. Board of Public Instruction*, 314 F. Supp. 285, 292 (S.D. Fla. 1970).

See, for example, *Shanley v. Northeast Independent School District*, 462 F.2d 960 (5th Cir. 1972).

prior hearing for a suspension of over two days.²² And, another observed that "suspension of even one hour could be quite critical to an individual student if that hour encompassed a final examination that provided for no 'make-up.'"²³

But, it was not until 1975 that the United States Supreme Court decided that the Constitution protects children threatened with disciplinary exclusion from school. In *Goss v. Lopez*,²⁴ it held that suspensions of up to 10 days in duration required at least a prior "rudimentary" hearing. A month later in *Wood v. Strickland*,²⁵ the Court recognized the right of students to recover damages from school officials whose actions breached a student's constitutional rights. These two cases do not answer all or most of the legal questions concerning suspension, but they are important steps in the struggle to protect students from unfair school disciplinary action. Most importantly, they serve notice on school officials that they can no longer act unilaterally or without scrutiny in the important decision to deprive a student of education even for short periods of time.

What *Goss* Held

Goss v. Lopez says that when a state provides education for its children, that education cannot be taken away for disciplinary reasons, even temporarily, without due process of law. But the implications of the case go far beyond this simple statement. They open the door to scrutiny of a wide variety of school decisions including a range of substantive due process rights children may have within schools. They also open up for

Milly v. Board of Education, 348 F. Supp. 866, 878 (D.D.C. 1972).

Shanley v. Northeast Independent School District, *supra*, at 967 n.4.

²⁴*Goss v. Lopez*, 419 U.S. 565, 95 S.Ct. 729 (1975). For a useful description of parents' and students' rights under *Goss*, including a reprint of the opinion, see A Report of the R.I.K. Memorial, *Suspensions and Due Process* (February 28, 1975).

²⁵*Wood v. Strickland*, 420 U.S. 308, 95 S.Ct. 992 (1975).

challenge other kinds of school acts. For example, transfer or special education placement may require more elaborate due process protections than are now afforded. Indeed, many questions may arise regarding the meaning of *Goss*, the implementation and utilization of the procedures which it requires, and problems in its application. Some of the most common questions are:

1) *Do all children have a right to education?* *Goss* does not recognize a constitutional right to education for children in the United States. But it is an important step towards building that right. What *Goss* does is give to every public school child the right not to be deprived, without due process of law, for disciplinary reasons, of the opportunity for education which results from the establishment by every state of a system of public schools.

2) *What does "due process of law" mean?* Government agencies, including school districts, are required by the United States Constitution to treat all people fairly. Specifically, the Fourteenth Amendment states that the government may not "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law." Because the Supreme Court decided in *Goss* that public school students have both a *property* and a *liberty* interest in education, deprivation of those interests must be accompanied by due process.

In the context of school suspensions of under 10 days, the Court determined that due process requires, before suspension may take place, that students be given oral or written notice of the charges against them. If they deny the charges, they must be given an explanation of the evidence against them which school officials have and a chance to explain their side of the story.

Although it was not discussed by the Supreme Court in *Goss*, due process may also prevent serious punishment (such as suspension or expulsion) for very minor offenses and requires that school rules themselves be fair.²⁴

The United States Constitution allows state and national governments to impose serious punishments on citizens only in a manner consistent with basic notions of fairness. For criminal proceedings, for example, those notions of fairness require the state to inform a person charged with

3) *When should a hearing take place?* The hearing must occur *before* students are sent home from school except in narrowly defined circumstances. The only exception, according to the Court, applies to

[s]tudents whose presence [in school] poses a continuing danger to persons or property or an ongoing threat of disrupting [the school]. In such cases, the necessary notice and rudimentary hearing should follow as soon as practicable.²⁵

Under the exception, a hearing should be held no later than the next school day.

4) *What constitutes adequate notice of the charges?* Students must be told what they are accused of doing with enough detail to enable them to defend themselves. Consequently, they should be told, at least, when and where the incident took place, what specific rule has been violated, and exactly what they are accused of doing. Telling students that they have "violated school rules" or are guilty of "serious misconduct" should not constitute sufficient notice.

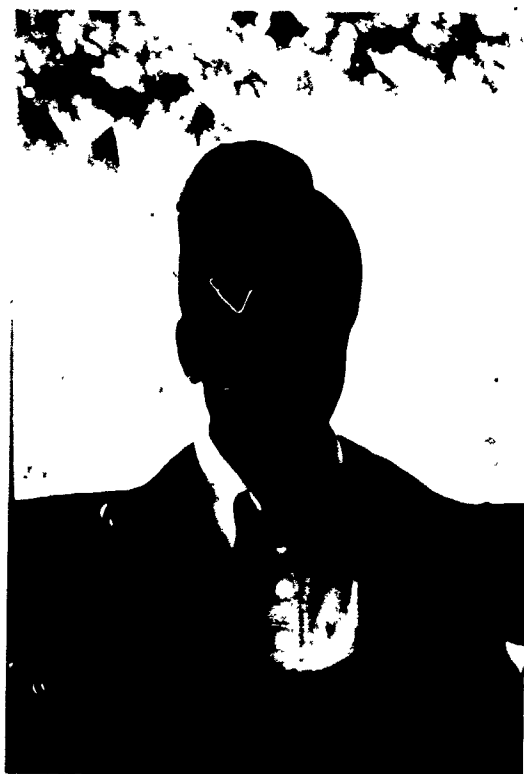
5) *"I've been threatened with a 5-day suspension and the only way to prove my innocence is through the statements of other witnesses." Does the principal have to speak to them?* *Goss* does not give students a right to call witnesses in cases of short suspension. The Supreme Court recognized, however, that some cases may involve disputes about facts and arguments about cause and effect. In such cases, the principal may

determine himself to summon the accuser, permit cross-examination and allow the student to present his own witnesses. In more difficult cases, he may permit counsel.²⁶

a criminal offense of the precise charge against them, the name and address of their accuser, and an opportunity to examine and confront their accuser in open court with the aid of a lawyer. In civil matters, notions of fairness, or "due process," generally require that notice of a potential punishment and a chance to prevent that punishment by presenting one's own side of the case at a hearing be given to every citizen.

²⁴ *Goss v. Lopez*, *supra*, at 740.

²⁵ *Goss v. Lopez*, *supra*, at 741.



Thus, students do not have a right to these protections but, if they feel that the principal does not have the full story, they should ask that further investigation take place.

The Court also said that "in *unusual* situations, although involving only a short suspension, something more than the rudimentary procedures will be required."²⁹ The Court did not describe what was meant by "unusual situations," but they might include, for example, suspensions imposed on large numbers of students, where identification is a problem, or suspensions during exam periods, where the result could be especially damaging.

6) *To what other forms of discipline does Goss apply?* The Court did not discuss other forms of punishment so it is difficult to say which are covered. The decision in *Goss* was based on "total exclusion from the educational process for more than a trivial period." Thus, being kept after school would probably not entitle a student

to a hearing. Unsettled also are whether transfer to another school with no loss of school time (unless the school is inferior and the transfer is done for arbitrary punishment purposes), or denial of the opportunity to participate in athletics, require a hearing. On the other hand, a student who is asked to leave the room for the rest of the day probably would be entitled to a hearing. Even where no hearing is clearly required by *Goss*, however, one should be requested if the punishment is felt to be harsh or unfairly imposed.

Although a particular situation may not be included within the *Goss* holding, where the punishment or treatment imposed by school officials is serious, such as in placement in special education classes or a change of "tracks" against the student's wishes, court intervention might be justified on other grounds.³⁰

7) *Do students have a right to appeal suspension decisions?* Where regulations exist, many school districts provide for an appeal of

²⁹ *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children v. Pennsylvania*, 334 F. Supp. 1257 (E.D. PA. 1971), 343 F. Supp. 279 (1972). A class action suit brought by the Association and the parents of certain mentally retarded children against the Pennsylvania State Board of Education, which resulted in the provision of a full panoply of due process rights for retarded children. The court accepted a consent agreement which stated that every retarded person between the ages of six and twenty-one shall be provided access to a free public program of education and training appropriate to their needs as soon as possible, but in no event later than September 1, 1972. *Mills v. Board of Education of District of Columbia*, 348 F. Supp. 866 (D.D.C. 1972). A class action on behalf of all children with special needs excluded from school. Right based on equal protection aspects of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment, U.S. Constitution, and District of Columbia statutes and regulations, with public programs suitable to special needs to be provided or tuition to private school paid by D.C. Full panoply of due process rights required prior to special education assignment.

Massachusetts General Laws Annotated, Chapter 15, Section 1M (formerly Chapter 766 (1972)) provides for the placement of children requiring special education into public schools or agency programs near their place of residence, and to allow other placements only in the event that suitable public programs or services cannot be provided. It also requires school officials to take all steps necessary to ensure that state and local expenditures for special education provide the maximum feasible benefit to every child receiving or requiring special education.

³⁰ *Goss v. Lopez*, *supra* at 741 (emphasis added).

suspension decisions made by the principal. In most cases, appeals are made first to the superintendent and then to the school committee. In some states, a further appeal may be made to the state department of education.

When students feel that they have been treated unfairly, they should appeal to these higher school authorities. Additionally, suspension decisions may be challenged in court, although this may take considerably more time.

The possibility that an appeal may be necessary or desirable should always be anticipated. It is a good idea, therefore, to develop a complete record of the case. Whenever possible, this should include official documents, including written notice of the charges and a written copy of the decision to suspend with the reasons for the decision. Additionally, notes should be kept of the date and substance of each communication with school officials and of the student's recollection of the incident itself.

School Officials' Resistance

School officials, in the past, have resisted the courts' intent to examine their disciplinary policies. While *Strickland* may reduce somewhat their future resistance, certain questions and arguments raised by school administrators may be expected to continue in the future. Many officials contend that requiring a hearing prior to suspension will seriously impede school operations and will affect adversely the quality of education in the public schools. We disagree. It is long past time when school officials can avoid treating children fairly in school by hiding behind unsubstantiated fears of weakened authority or attacking fair hearings before they have tried them. For example, among the most common claims used to avoid due process are:

Contention 1 *Goss* gives to federal courts the authority to determine the rules applicable to routine classroom discipline.

This is untrue. *Goss* in no way prevents school officials from establishing rules which students must obey or risk punishment including suspension. Nor does it limit the type or duration of punishment which may be imposed on students who have been found to have violated a rule.

Rather, the Court held only that school officials cannot act arbitrarily, with no consideration of the facts of an incident, when they propose to suspend a student. *Goss* recognizes that to kick a child out of school, when that child has done nothing wrong or when there are mitigating circumstances which only the student may know, is inherently unfair. It requires only that there must be an opportunity for school officials to determine that a student in fact committed the act for which temporary removal from school is considered necessary.

Contention 2. *Goss* takes away from school authorities their historically recognized broad discretionary authority in the daily operation of public schools.

This companion argument is also without merit. School officials' discretion to determine the course of daily school operations is largely unaffected by *Goss*. The educational needs of every child are different and can be met only by educators who have the freedom to handle individual problems with the flexibility which the situation may require. But flexibility should not mean arbitrariness or unfairness. The rudimentary hearing required by *Goss* is an attempt to ensure that school administrators do not act in an informational vacuum or emotionally but, rather, that they have available sufficient facts to permit a disposition which will contribute to the educational management of both the child and the school.

Some critics of fair school procedures place great faith in the experience, good intentions and dedication of school officials who must exercise discretion in resolving their schools' problems. Many school officials deserve this faith. But many do not. And even the best and most dedicated school officials can make mistakes. Chances of mistakes are appreciably increased by lack of established procedures. Just as we would not suggest that good judges should act in a totally discretionary fashion, we believe that teachers and administrators do not by virtue of their profession possess a greater claim to good faith than do other people. That so many suspensions are occurring with so much legal challenge reinforces the necessity of regularization of

the process so that all members of the school community are aware of their obligations.

Administrators and teachers, like children, also suffer because of unclear policies and practices. Many teachers are right out of college with no experience in handling children. Even those who have taught for many years are confronted with new and changing situations and with students from widely different cultural backgrounds. For them, the response which has been learned through experience may not always be educationally appropriate. *Goss* merely attempts to ensure that when a school official's discretionary authority must be imposed, it is after a fair determination of the facts and not before. It is also a mandate to think twice before acting.

Contention 3. The lesson of discipline must be learned if a student is to be able successfully to enter adulthood.

We agree that children must learn discipline. But the question is *what* the student learns about discipline and *how*?



Discipline that is imposed in an unfair way, or upon an innocent child, does not teach children good things about adult authority. Children who are taught that they may be punished without reason or consideration of the circumstances are not likely to possess as adults the wisdom and compassion necessary to function fully in an increasingly impersonal environment. Children are also unlikely to understand "the necessity of rules and obedience thereto" if they find themselves punished for a rule violation which they did not commit and which they do not understand. *Goss* will help to ensure that these results do not occur.

When the federal courts first began to require schools to hold hearings, the reaction among school officials was shock and dismay—anarchy seemed just around the corner. But now that some school districts have had increasing experience with suspension hearings, some officials have found that fair procedures actually increase respect for authority. One principal has predicted that "[a]dministrators and teachers will come to learn that due process will strengthen, not weaken, their positions within their school and community."¹¹ Another has written that "when due process is followed . . . [t]he operation of the school can be greatly enhanced rather than disrupted or impeded."¹²

Contention 4. Discipline proceedings are not, and should not be, adversarial in nature for there is a commonality of interest between school and student.

In his dissenting opinion in *Goss*, Justice Powell contended that the school situation was different from others in which the Court has required prior hearings because those situations involved "a 'faceless' administrator dealing with an equally 'faceless' recipient of some form of government benefit. . . ." ¹³ The implication that

¹¹James F. Ferguson, "Due Process Is Now," *National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin*, Vol. 57 (February, 1973), p. 99.

¹²Hendrik C. DeBruin, "Education and Due Process," *Education*, Vol. 90 (November-December 1969), p. 182.

¹³*Goss v. Lopez, supra*, at 746, n. 13 (Powell, J., dissenting).

schools are not equally "faceless" ignores the fact that some schools today enroll over 5,000 students. It is contended also that the role played by teachers is, at times, one of "parent-substitute." Indged, school officials have traditionally argued that they act *in loco parentis* as parent substitutes and that suspension hearings may break down the "family" relationship between school officials and students. But the public school, particularly at the secondary school level where the majority of suspensions occur, is *not* a family. "In the modern school setting," with hundreds or thousands of students, administrators and teachers do "not and perhaps cannot have an individual, parent-like concern for [a] child's welfare."³⁴ It is particularly inappropriate to speak of a family relationship when officials act so often to throw a child out of school. Few real parents would take such action.

A relationship of mutual respect and trust is important in the public schools. But a hearing requirement can build such a relationship, not destroy it. Neither respect nor trust is fostered by one-sided decision-making so crucial to the child. A child, and his parents, have every right to disagree with the determination of a school official that suspension is in the child's interest. One school administrator has written that suspensions

do not need to become wellsprings of discord or bitterness. By ensuring that [they] take place in accordance with due process and for specific acts, school [officials] will earn trust as they perform this important quasi-judicial function.³⁵

Contention 5. The deprivation of liberty and property occasioned by exclusion from all schooling for a period of 10 days is not a "grievous loss" requiring constitutional protection.

This argument ignores several factors: the importance of the continuity of a child's relationship with school; the marginal academic

status of many students with disciplinary problems, the impact suspensions have on these children leaving school permanently, the harmful results of forced idleness, and the stigma and labeling that often accompany suspension that can remain in school records and affect future jobs and higher education. These harms seem particularly persuasive in the absence of any demonstrable benefit to a child from suspensions.

Contention 6. The magnitude of the discipline problem is such that holding hearings will take away from school administrators time needed for more important tasks.

Hearings, of course, will take some time. But the time required for a rudimentary hearing as required by *Goss* will be minimal. Indeed, we feel *Goss* falls far short of assuring adequate prior consideration before suspending a child. What time is required for the hearings will be time well spent. It will not be taken *from* an educational function, but be *for* an educational function. School officials would not suspend a student if they did not think it would serve a school purpose, thus, resources expended on suspensions are not unconnected to the school's "education."

The hearing process might seem inefficient if the test of efficiency is removing as many children as quickly as possible from the school building. But public school efficiency should not be measured only in time and numbers, but also in fairness, good will and trust. Efficiency is hardly served by countless mistaken suspensions. An investment in hearings, therefore, is an investment in reliable decision making.

Contention 7. A fair hearing requirement will allow disruption in schools to continue and will undercut the education process.

The disruption argument is laden with emotions and demands close scrutiny. Since we have found that serious disruption or even threat of serious disruption is not the cause of a majority of suspensions, its continuance cannot be a reason to deny a student a prior hearing. Many suspensions occur for nonaggressive infractions such as smoking, truancy, tardiness, chewing gum or violations of dress codes. These students are unlikely to create any serious disruption

³⁴William G. Buss, "Procedural Due Process for School Discipline," 119 *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 560 (1971).

³⁵Sheldon Winston, "Expulsions and Due Process," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 54 (June, 1973), p. 699.

while they await a hearing. Students suspended for more aggressive acts like swearing, fighting with another student, or talking back to a teacher, are unlikely to remain aggressive once they are brought to the principal's office. They are still more unlikely to be aggressive if their parent is called by phone immediately. The countless children who are suspended on the basis of unfair or mistaken accusations should pose no threat at all. Normally then, for most students who are suspended, there is time for a hearing without serious fear of trouble. We recognize that there may be instances of disruption and violence that would justify a delayed hearing. But the threat must be genuinely imminent and the threatened disruption substantial. In these few exigent situations, a hearing should be held promptly after a child has been removed from school.

Contention 8. Hearings will undermine school authority.



Principals must have authority. But they are not meant to be dictators. They "do not possess absolute authority over their students" but must operate under a Constitution that treats children "in school as well as out of school" as persons "possessed of fundamental rights which the State must respect."³⁶

Many school officials hold the view that scrutiny of their actions will undermine their authority. They fear a hearing will allow their commands to be questioned; it may show that they made a mistake, and it will make them more reluctant to suspend any children. These purported defenses to a hearing requirement strike us as anathema to the educational process, and they seem extremely flimsy when weighed against the educational and psychological harm to the child being thrown out of school unfairly. A suspension hearing will affect only the determination of facts, whether or not a student violated a particular school rule. It will not affect a principal's power—he can act as he thinks best once the violation is established.

It may be that the requirement of a hearing will cause principals to suspend fewer children. Certainly, it should screen out suspensions that are demonstrably unfair or mistaken. But that will be a gain, not a loss, for the public schools. A hearing may also require principals to think twice about using suspensions in the more marginal cases. One principal told a conference of secondary school principals that he reexamined the use of suspensions in his school and determined that they were necessary in only a minority of cases. "In some cases," he said "we realized that out-of-school suspensions would be needed—for example, in situations where hot tempers as a result of a fight required cool-off time away from school." But, for most other cases, he set up an in-school suspension center where students could continue their studies. "Students respect it," he concluded, "and it has cut down on many kinds of disciplinary problems in the school."³⁷

³⁶*Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*, 393 U. S. 503, 511 (1968)

³⁷Donald V. Johnson, "Student Disciplinary Codes: What Makes Them Tick," speech delivered to the Annual

After Goss

Goss v. Lopez is a significant step forward in the drive against harsh and unfair suspensions, for it establishes that disciplinary exclusion is sufficiently serious to warrant constitutional protection and warns administrators that their actions are no longer beyond review. The procedures mandated by the Supreme Court, however, are only a partial answer to the suspension problem. The Court's subsequent decision in *Strickland* gives added impetus to preventing unwarranted suspensions by ensuring that administrators can be held personally liable for their unconstitutional acts.³⁸

But the procedures mandated by *Goss* represent, at best, the minimum necessary for the protection of students from unwarranted and educationally unsound exclusion on grounds of discipline. Even prior to the decision, many school districts had adopted paper policies which meet the standards of fairness enunciated in *Goss*. School administrators interviewed subsequent to the decision have been almost uniform in their confidence that their districts will be unaffected by the Court's action since, they believe, current local practice meets or surpasses what *Goss* holds to be constitutionally required.³⁹ Yet even where their belief is technically

correct, children often are excluded for disciplinary reasons in ways, and for offenses, which shock even the most jaded sense of fairness.

While *Goss* may imply that suspensions should be accompanied by substantive as well as procedural fairness, the courts generally have been reluctant to interfere with the broad powers and discretion to determine the nature of offenses which may be punished, and the severity of that punishment, which is granted to local school boards by the legislatures of the various states.⁴⁰ Normally, courts take the position that "school disciplinary matters are best resolved in the local community and within the institutional framework of the school system."⁴¹ Only when rules for student conduct, and the methods by which they are enforced, are "arbitrary, capricious, unreasonable or discriminatory"⁴² has judicial interference with discipline decisions been considered permissible.

Generally, the reasonableness of a school's actions when those actions deprive a student of the protected interests in education recognized in *Goss* depends upon the relationship which the action has to the school's purported objectives.⁴³

Boston, Massachusetts' Code of Discipline has long provided that a student threatened with suspension be given a prior, reasonable opportunity "to present his version of the facts through his own statements and the statements of other witnesses he wishes to produce."

³⁸See, for example, *Wood v. Strickland*, *supra*, at 1003; *Ferrell v. Dallas Independent School District*, 392 F.2d 697 (5th Cir. 1968). See also support for this position in *Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur*, 414 U.S. 632, 94 S.Ct. 791, 804 (1974) (Powell concurring); *Finker v. Des Moines Independent School District*, *supra*.

⁴¹*Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 490 F.2d 458, 460 (5th Cir. 1974).

⁴²See, for example, *Ferrell v. Dallas Independent School District*, *supra*; *Brownlee v. Bradley County Board of Education*, 311 F. Supp. 1360 (E.D. Tenn. 1970).

⁴³See, for example, *Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur*, *supra*; *Stanley v. Illinois*, 92 S.Ct. 1208 (1972); *Bell v. Burson*, 91 S.Ct. 1586 (1971); *Paine v. Board of Regents*, 355 F. Supp. 199 (W.D. Tex. 1972) aff'd 474 F.2d 1397 (5th Cir. 1973).

Conference of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, Dallas, Texas (February 2-7, 1973), p. 4.

³⁹Some may argue, as does the dissenting opinion in *Strickland*, that the decision is harsh because of its "assumption as to what lay school officials know or can know about the law and constitutional rights" 95 S.Ct. at 1004. The majority noted, however, that school board members voluntarily assume the responsibilities of the office, which requires "a high degree of intelligence and judgment for the proper fulfillment of its duties," and that, in light of the value which civil rights have in our legal system, the standard established by *Strickland* imposes neither an unfair nor an unwarranted burden on those whose choice it is to serve 95 S.Ct. at 1000-1001.

⁴⁰See, for example, *New York Times* (January 27, 1975), p. 27. The article quotes, among others, officials from Los Angeles, California and Richmond, Virginia to the effect that their schools will be unaffected by *Goss*. Similarly,

Thus, it has been held that the harm caused to a student by virtue of the imposition of an indefinite expulsion for intoxication outweighed the school's interest in using that form of punishment to combat alcohol problems.⁴⁴

Furthermore, there may be such disparity between the offense charged and the penalty imposed that the commands of the Fourteenth Amendment are not met.⁴⁵ Expulsion for the simple offense of tardiness, for example, might constitute such a disparity.⁴⁶ On the other hand, expulsion of students for participation in a class boycott, where that participation was neither violent nor, in some cases at least, disruptive, was held not to be constitutionally proscribed.⁴⁷

Goss leaves room for further advances in the effort to ensure that students receive procedural due process prior to suspensions as well. Although it is not established that any suspension from school, for whatever length of time, must be accompanied at least by notification of the charges against the student and, if he or she denies those charges, an explanation of the evidence and an opportunity to present his or her side of the story, the Court noted that "[l]onger suspensions or expulsions for the remainder of the school term, or permanently, may require more formal procedures."⁴⁸ In some jurisdictions, the procedures necessary for long-term suspension were decided earlier by lower federal courts, by state legislatures, or by local school district regulations. In those jurisdictions, the procedures found to be constitutionally mandated remain unaffected by *Goss* to the extent that they apply to suspensions in excess of 10 days and require at least that degree of due

process which the Supreme Court found to be necessary in cases of short-term suspension.

Still, few such decisions have indicated that the entire gamut of procedural protections which we believe to be necessary to guard against arbitrary or unwarranted long-term deprivations of a student's right to education is constitutionally required. And some jurisdictions continue to lack any judicial or legislative guidelines whatsoever as to what may or may not be required. Thus, the Supreme Court's reaffirmation of the importance of education in modern society, as well as its implicit invitation for renewed consideration of the nature of procedural due process required in cases of long-term suspension, make plain that the courts have yet to see the last of the attempts to obtain such guidelines.

Goss also enunciates another area where its holding is subject to further development. The Court did not

put aside the possibility that in unusual situations, although involving only a short suspension, something more than the rudimentary procedures will be required.⁴⁹

Such unusual circumstances might include, for example, instances where a student receives successive short-term suspensions, whether or not imposed for the same offense. It also might be argued that where it is known that disproportionate numbers of black students are suspended,⁵⁰ special circumstances exist such as to re-

⁴⁴*Cook v. Edwards*, 341 F. Supp. 307 (D. N. H. 1972).

⁴⁵See *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, *supra*, at 460.

⁴⁶*Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, *supra*, at 460, n. 3.

⁴⁷*Boyskins v. Fairfield Board of Education*, 492 F. 2d 697 (5th Cir. 1974).

⁴⁸*Goss v. Lopez*, *supra*, at 741.

⁴⁹*Goss v. Lopez*, *supra*, at 741.

⁵⁰See, for example, *Hawkins v. Coleman*, *supra*, in which the court gave weight to evidence of racial disproportionality in the frequency of suspension. *Sweet v. Childs*, 507 F. 2d 675 (5th Cir. 1975), rejected an argument based on disproportionate suspension rates for black and white students, stating "[t]here was no showing of arbitrary suspensions or expulsions of black students nor of a failure to suspend or expel white students for similar conduct" and, thus, the argument lacked a factual foundation. Where a statistical showing is accompanied by evidence of specific incidents of arbitrary or differential treatment, however, relief more comprehensive than that described in *Goss* might be deemed necessary. Statistical claims, with such supporting evidence, have been made in litigation currently underway in Boston, Massachusetts and Newburgh, New York.



quire more comprehensive procedures to ensure that the pattern of suspensions is not the result of their discriminatory imposition. Similarly, suspensions following an incident in which many students are involved with resulting problems of identification, or suspension during an exam period, might require more than *Goss*' rudimentary hearing procedures.¹

Goss v. Lopez clearly is a landmark case in the fight to make schools more responsive to the needs of students and more respectful of their rights. Despite an initial outcry over the decision, and its expected effect on the power of administrators to guide their schools' operations, it appears to have been fairly well accepted during the intervening months. But its meaning is no better than its enforcement. And we fear that school acceptance of procedures mandated by the case may not always encompass a recognition of their underlying purpose or importance. The concern of the Supreme Court was that students not be forced to experience the "serious event" of suspension unilaterally and without due process. The Court can, and has, required that certain procedures be followed but it cannot force school officials to keep the best interests of the child in mind when suspension decisions are made.

Patently unfair decisions should be challenged and appealed if necessary. The unsoundness of suspending children for certain kinds of nonviolent offenses should be questioned. Suspensions without prior hearings, under the *Goss* exception for situations involving continuing danger or ongoing threat of school disruption,

should be even more fully examined at the subsequent hearing. It is important that students, parents and community advocates strive to use the procedures provided by the courts to go further in ensuring that suspension is used sparingly, if at all.

While recent Supreme Court decisions require school officials to adopt minimum due process into their administrative practices, and some state statutes and decisions require more stringent standards, it is clear that some school officials will find ways to avoid due process procedures even when established.

First, some school officials may not inform parents or children of their rights. Second, unless due process procedures are attached to all exclusions, whether called disciplinary or not, some school officials will simply call suspensions and expulsions by other names or resort to still more informal "pushout" tactics that will have the same result. Third, fair hearings cannot justify suspensions that are unnecessary or substantively unreasonable. Suspending a child for a reason related to race or poverty is never fair. Similarly, suspension seems overly harsh for "offenses" like tardiness. Fourth, suspension does not solve the problem itself—it just temporarily relieves school officials of a child they are unprepared or unwilling to deal with for a few days.

Therefore, a fundamental reassessment of the underlying rationale and effectiveness of suspension as an educational tool must be undertaken.

¹ See *Stanley v. Northeast Independent School District*, *supra*, at 967, n.4.

What Some School Districts Are Trying As Alternatives to Suspensions

A variety of responses currently exists in school systems across the country which provide a range of alternatives to suspension for both school and student. It is not that schools do not know or cannot learn from others what to do instead of suspending students. It is that school officials need to decide first that they *want* to use an alternative response to suspension for a disruptive student and then to determine which programs are most appropriate. School administrators and teachers must make a positive, active commitment to a new approach to discipline.

Every alternative is not a costly venture. Responses to many behavior problems are common sense measures which should be part of standard school operations. Having a child cool off in the office or in a temporary "cooling-off" room or arranging a parent-child conference should not demand great resources. And no amount of money is going to help a teacher who dislikes or fears minority group or poor children relate to them more effectively.

Establishing better relationships with parents, whether through PIA's, open houses, community-school activities, or parental roles within schools, is another needed step. Teachers and administrators attuned to the conditions in which children live may understand better and respond more sensitively to their actions in school. Giving parents a sense that they matter, that schools care about their children, which many do not now believe, may open the door in some cases to more consistent home-school

handling of children with discipline problems. In addition, parents may be good resources to tap when alternative programs need higher adult-child ratios, or when additional man-hours are needed to help coordinate activities or programs.

Some alternatives will require added resources. For example, referring a child who has a serious emotional problem to diagnostic services should be routine, though now it is often impossible because of the scarcity of such services in many school districts. Local, state and federal governments must respond more realistically to the need for more funds in this area if they expect schools to serve all children adequately. With increasing state and federal requirements for provision of special education services, we may expect more such programs. We must continue to urge this to happen.¹

Below are descriptions of some programs we found schools using as alternatives to suspension and expulsion. They range from temporary, limited, in-school programs designed to meet specific, immediate discipline needs, to out-of-school programs providing a separate setting for troubling students, to alternative schools which were designed for a wide variety of educational reasons other than discipline. In many cases, however, they have become schools for

However, special education referral should not be used, as is often the case, as a device to keep children out of regular school until a psychological examination can take place. Nor should it be an invitation to elevate a routine behavior problem into a grand medical or therapeutic problem.

difficult students. Ironically, many alternative schools which were not specifically structured to deal with discipline problems are prime examples of schools which function successfully without the use of suspension. Some alternative programs focus narrowly on correcting misbehaving students, others offer a series of alternative educational programs for many kinds of students. While not perfect, most alternatives we discuss here were serving students significantly better than the regular public school classes.²

Alternatives, like anything else, are just as good as the people administering them. We hope teachers and administrators will not react defensively to suggestions that they change the ways in which they conceive of education and discipline and will seek help and support from their colleagues who are trying different techniques. As one principal of an alternative high school told us, he would not think education successful until it had stopped thinking of *his* school as an alternative and instead thought of the traditional high school as an alternative. His

²Some alternatives had problems which demand continuing attention. 1) Most alternatives were precariously funded, accorded the dubious status of an activity outside the regular program, frequently physically separated from the regular public school, and rarely seen as one among many equally good choices available for a teacher or administrator or student. 2) Some were misused as dumping grounds for children with a variety of special education needs that no one is meeting or as resegregation devices for minority children. As a result, children are labeled, and the alternative's ability to serve the needs of the population originally intended is quickly limited. 3) Alternative programs were frequently squeezed by paradoxical standards of "success." If they are handy safety valves for the school system, removing just enough of the most troubling children to permit standard operating procedures to continue in the rest of the schools, no one asks if they are helping the children in attendance. Others are plagued by quick, quantitative, "objective" assessments which seek to measure their cost-effectiveness by achievement test score gains, average daily attendance rates, disciplinary disruption level decreases and so on. While we too considered these criteria in the programs we visited, measures such as school spirit or level of fear are also important. Alternatives need time to work out their growing pains before objective criteria are useful. And equally rigorous standards ought to be applied to all school programs in the district before such judgments are made.

vision of utopia was a number of different schools with different programs serving different kinds of children but each equally prestigious, equally effective.³ We concur with his vision, and we offer the following examples as immediate, interim steps that can be taken in that direction. Each or many of them may not be suitable for all places but they are a place to begin in exploring options to current rampant resort to suspension.

Disciplinary Band-aids

Many time-honored practices can be used with varying degrees of effectiveness in schools to confine or control disruption. They are probably most appropriate as responses to normal adolescent conflicts not caused by any learning or emotional problems. These solutions do not provide diagnosis or evaluation of complicated behavior problems, but they can provide relief for a specific situation by either a change in geography or personality.

"Stay After School." After-school detention is still popular in many schools. For high school students, this punishment can be a real deterrent to repeated infractions of school rules as students do not like to have their free time infringed upon. Of course, this practice can be abused. At times entire classes are forced to stay after school because of the misbehavior of one student. And many high school students hold after-school jobs which provide needed income to their families. This ought to be considered when a school imposes this sanction.

"Go Sit in the Principal's Office." Students are still sent to sit for hours in the principal's, dean's, assistant principal's, or guidance counselor's office or in the music or shop room just to be kept out of a class or given time to cool off. In some situations, these actions prevent a student from being suspended. Hopefully, the rightful tenant of the office will take the time to talk to the student and help resolve the conflict that sent him or her there. But sitting in the office is not a permanent solution to the cause of the misbehavior.

³Interview with Philip A. Viso, February 10, 1975.



Transfers. Every student cannot be expected to get along with every teacher with whom he or she is placed. Teachers, too, have personality conflicts with students and, at times, simply may not be able to get along. In these situations a student's class or entire program might be changed. Schools and school districts have informal agreements for inter-school transfers. "I'll take ten of yours this year, if you'll take ten of mine."⁴ A change of teacher or school may provide some students an opportunity to be rid of a "disruptive" reputation. However, this practice should be used with care. Students should not be moved around from school to school without ever receiving the kind of attention, services or follow-up that might be needed to help. Too often transfers have been used as a step prior to throwing a child out of school. And school records label children so negatively that a

new chance is effectively frustrated to a child who is transferred.⁵

Behavior Contracts

An individualized, specially tailored, on-the-spot contract has been used for three years in the Middle School of Englewood, New Jersey (a school which had been involved in large-scale school busing for desegregation) as an alternative to suspension for such offenses as cutting classes or fighting among students. After an incident, the students involved meet with the assistant principal and principal. An elaborate, legalistic-sounding contract is drawn up, which requires a student to give his word not to repeat the behavior. Great seriousness surrounds the signing of the contract, which is "officially notarized" with the imprint of a formal seal.⁶ Since the contracts were instituted, almost no students have broken them, and suspensions have been sharply reduced. The basic format of the contract is duplicated, with blanks left for description of the specific incident and agreements made with the individual student. Writing the contract takes a principal no longer than writing a letter to parents informing them of their child's suspension.⁷

This contract requires no funding, special programming, screening or labeling of students. It makes no assumption of the need to rehabilitate a student. It does assume, however, that the administration knows its students by name and cares enough to deal with each discipline incident individually. It also assumes flexibility and fair

⁴For a discussion of how school records are used and abused, see a forthcoming CDE-UPRI report entitled, *Children On File: School Record Keeping Practices in Los Angeles*.

⁶The only seal the principal could find was that of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Apparently, its symbolic importance in the ceremony of the contract outweighs the fact that it has absolutely no legal or educational bearing for the students.

⁷Interview with Roland Betts, former Assistant Principal, Englewood Middle School, Englewood, New Jersey, January 15, 1975.

⁴Interview with an administrator in the Board of Education, New York City, who requested to remain anonymous.



judgment on the part of the adults who are writing the contracts.

Student Ombudsman

One junior high school in New York City has approached the problem of school discipline by creating a new position on the professional staff, that of the student ombudsman.⁹ The ombudsman serves as a student advocate but often finds himself a mediator or facilitator between students and teachers. Since the creation of this position, the number of suspensions in the school has been noticeably lowered. The school principal decided that the function of an ombudsman was important enough to allot funds from regular teacher staff lines for the position. Monies from federal drug programs for the district were used to hire community youth workers to staff the ombudsman's office.

See interview with Luther W. Seabrook and Steven R. Kanonski in Chapter 4 of this report.

Secondary school students can also function as advocates or ombudsmen for each other in certain situations if they are given some initial training and sustained support for adequately fulfilling such a role. The Youth Advocacy Project in Rochester, New York has identified a number of Neighborhood Youth Corps workers and given them training in student advocacy.⁹ These students now help other students in the city's high schools to know their rights and responsibilities under the discipline codes, and they step in when there is a crisis. They meet regularly with adult staff for information and guidance and, if the situation gets too complicated for a student to handle, they refer the problem to the adult staff.

The Youth Advocacy Project is operated by the Center for Community Issues Research in Rochester, New York, which has produced a good booklet on students' rights and responsibilities in school.

Peer Group Counseling

The Saint Maria Goretti High School is one of nine schools of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia participating in the Shalom program, a peer group counseling program led by nine education specialists and an evaluator.

A suspension means an automatic referral to a group, which conducts 12- to 15-week courses during which time the students are taught skills in handling home and school problems, building a positive self-image, managing their free time and making decisions about their lives. Additional courses develop leadership skills in certain students who become co-leaders along with the education specialist. One school has 30 trained student leaders.

The Shalom program reduced recorded suspensions in one school from 69 in one year to 4 the next year. Though the groups were not established as alternatives to suspension, they help solve problems which might lead to a suspension. "So much of the acting out behavior is simply a cry to someone to listen."¹⁰

Another peer group counseling program is the Metropolitan School-Based Delinquency Prevention Program which operates in one high school and four junior high schools in Rock Island, Illinois.¹¹ Peer influence is mobilized to reduce the incidence of violence and disruption, truancy and dropouts, referrals to juvenile court and youth involvement with the police. While the groups are guided by trained adult leaders, the catalyst for behavior change is in "the interaction of adolescent peers. . . . The peer group has the strongest influence over the values, attitudes and behavior of most youth. . . . In group sessions and in day to day activities, the goal is to fully involve youth in the helping process."¹²

¹⁰Interview with Sister Marie Madeleine Boyd, Director, Shalom Peer Counseling Program, Department of Youth Activities, Archdiocese of Philadelphia, May 5-6, 1975.

¹¹This is an L.E.A.A. funded project administered and staffed by the Center for Youth Services, a non-profit corporation established to implement the program in the public schools.

¹²Harry V. Vorrath and Larry K. Brendtro, *Positive Peer Culture* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974)

TABLE 1
Number of Students Disciplined
in Rock Island High School¹

Disciplinary Actions	Before Peer Counsel- ing 1972-73	After Peer Counsel- ing 1973-74	Percent Change
Suspensions	253	112	-55.7
Within school probation			
Without suspension	0	15	(increase)
With suspension	17	25	+47.1
Asked to withdraw			
for fighting	11	1	-90.9
for truancy	37	4	-89.2
Expulsions	7	2	-71.4
Totals	325	159	-51.1
Enrollment	2,485	2,316	-6.8

¹ Totals and percent change recomputed by CDF.

Source: Metropolitan School-Based Delinquency Prevention Program of Rock Island, Illinois, "Application for Grant to L.E.A.A." Rock Island Public Schools, June 1974. (Typewritten.) See Chart C, p. 3, "Pilot Group Project Statistical Results, Rockland High School."

The adult group leaders identify two types of youth for participation: the natural leaders of the student body and the potential dropouts. These two groups meet during the first semester, while adult leaders train personnel from each of the schools as well as student interns from area colleges.

Approximately 15 percent of the student population of 4,712 in these schools are regular participants in the counseling during the school year and another 5 percent are occasional participants. Significant decreases in disciplinary offenses have occurred.¹³

Peer counseling is a sound concept at the secondary school level since sixteen, seventeen and eighteen year olds often have many adult responsibilities before and after school, and they can and should assume a much larger role in maintaining order in their own schools.

¹³There was a 51.6 percent decrease in disciplinary incidents. See: Metropolitan School-Based Delinquency Prevention Program of Rock Island, Illinois, "Application for Grant to L.E.A.A." Rock Island Public Schools, June 1974. (Typewritten.) See Chart C, p. 3, "Pilot Group Project Statistical Results, Rockland High School."

In-School Centers

While we believe every effort should be made to avoid exclusion from school, we recognize the necessity of removing a student from a difficult situation. Temporary programs located inside schools can alleviate one-time flare-ups or disruptive incidents. They provide students a cooling-off time after a fight and give teachers an outlet during a particularly trying day. They provide relief while not denying students access to their normal educational program. Some in-school programs also begin to diagnose the cause of the behavior problems to prevent the incident from recurring though they usually lack funds for sufficient skilled staff and have no adequate treatment options for problems once identified.

The Shop, in Dayton, Ohio is an in-school crisis room which teachers hoped would "repair" troubled students in a senior high school, reduce suspensions and expulsions, and "defuse potentially explosive situations."¹⁴

Students are assigned there when they demonstrate poor self-control, fighting, defacing property or showing disrespect or defiance of a teacher. An average of three students per day are referred to The Shop for periods ranging from one class to ten days. Rap sessions are conducted between students and Shop personnel, and student-teacher or student-student conferences are held. In addition to participating in counseling, students must keep up with their regular classroom assignments. During its first year of operation in 1970-71 it served 791 children, and 591 children the next year.

Reported numbers of suspensions and expulsions over a five-year period indicate The Shop has had a positive effect in reducing exclusion.¹⁵ For example, suspensions in the school dropped to the following levels:

Academic Year	Number of Suspensions (1-10 days)
1969-70	433
1970-71	536
1971-72	282
1972-73	279
1973-74	212

Despite the fact that this particular program had a successful record, there are real dangers in having in-school centers for disruptive students if they become islands of exclusion and stigma, even though students are technically in a school. Often the educational programs offered are inferior to regular classroom work; students can be placed in in-school detention indefinitely without proper diagnostic screening or due process safeguards; and emergence from these programs back to the regular school flow is difficult.

Teacher Training

Some approaches to school discipline shift their focus from the student to the teacher or to the organization of the school itself. The Springfield, Massachusetts Public School System and the School of Education of the University of Massachusetts have been collaborating on the development of a prototype solution to classroom discipline problems at the junior high school level.¹⁶ At the beginning of the study, the researchers stated:

problems a district faces. Approaches targeted at specific populations with carefully planned techniques for a few goals may be more effective in the long run. Approximately \$42 million were allocated under Title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 for dropout prevention from fiscal 1969 when the first grants were made, through fiscal 1974 when more than half of the existing 19 projects were being phased out. No money was approved for fiscal year 1975 for dropout prevention, and the projects that were in operation during fiscal year 1975 were operating on fiscal year 1974 impounded funds. Consequently, most of the programs are apt to be closed down by the time state departments of education are at the point of reviewing and approving programs in dropout prevention out of fiscal 1976 funds. *Dropout Prevention*, p. 21.

¹⁴ A Special Report by the National Advisory Council on Supplementary Centers and Services, *Dropout Prevention* (n.p., April, 1975), p. 37.

¹⁵ The Shop's apparent success was atypical among other federally-funded dropout prevention programs. Many suffer from providing too little, too late, or from trying to improve an entire school population's problems with one kind of program. A few federal dollars cannot solve all the

¹⁶ This program is under the joint direction of Dr. John V. Shea, Principal of Van Sickle Junior High School and Dr.

Hundreds of studies have been conducted that ask questions like, "What are the characteristics of problem students?" We asked that question last year and found out that such students are more often boys than girls, proportionately more in the ninth than the eighth and the seventh grades; disproportionately black, with lower I.Q. scores, lower reading scores and from the lower social classes. You could decrease the number of referrals to the front office by expelling all lower class black males in the ninth grade with low I.Q.'s.

But they also asked:

What are the characteristics of teachers who have more discipline problems? The answer, in brief, is young first-year teachers without tenure. The solution: Get rid of all young teachers without tenure. Obviously, both solutions are absurd, because the question is misleading.¹⁷

Observations in the classrooms of one junior high school in Springfield showed that students attended to subject matter an average of only 50 percent of each instructional period. "The remainder of the time is spent by teachers in the battle for students' attention or in covert inattention by students."¹⁸

The researchers see this battle for attention as a game: the "attention-discipline game." They made a list of the basic moves of teachers and students in the classroom, and the way that teachers and students combined these moves in

chain reactions which resulted in a classroom disruption at nearly blinding speed.

The researchers have termed the analysis of these chains of interactions as "social literacy." They claim there is massive social *illiteracy* in junior high schools, distributed equally among students, teachers and administrators. Students may not be aware of certain implicit behavior rules, or they may not be able to control their behavior to fit the rules. On the other hand, teachers and administrators may not even recognize that they are actually suspending a student when they send a student home for a few days. Since the action is not written up as a suspension, nor formally called a suspension, it is not dealt with or recognized as a suspension.

In order to break the disruption chain which allows school people to continue to be victimized by their social relationships, the research team has formalized a teacher training program in social literacy with three objectives:

- (1) To teach everyone in school to recognize the system of social relationships;
- (2) To analyze classroom discipline cycles; and
- (3) To break destructive discipline cycles through negotiated changes in relationships and rules.

The project will train teachers and administrators in a teacher center for in-service credit, and the Springfield School System will integrate this teacher training component into their regular in-service activities.

Diagnosing Discipline Problems: Special Education Programs

We have found an interesting convergence in many cities between discipline and special education programs. In Los Angeles, for example, the School Board has proposed a "School Attendance Review Board" to provide "a staff of trained professionals from the fields of mental health, probation, social work and community relations and the schools to identify and work with youngsters who show an early inclination

Alfred Alschuler, Professor of Education at University of Massachusetts. 19.7 percent of the student body were suspended at Van Sickle at least once during 1972. 233 students of 1,203 students. During an average semester at Van Sickle JHS, there are over 900 referrals to the front office for disciplinary action, requiring 22 minutes per referral by the two assistant principals, which adds up to some 111 school days of their time each semester.

¹⁷Alfred Alschuler and John V. Shea, "Discipline Game: Playing Without 'Losers,'" p. 25

¹⁸Springfield (Massachusetts) Public School System, "Proposal Submitted to Community Funds Advisory Committee for the Implementation of a Project to Solve the Discipline Problem in Springfield Junior High Schools," Springfield, Massachusetts, January 3, 1975, p. 1. (Type-written.)



toward incorrigibility."¹⁹ Under Massachusetts' new progressive special education law, "Chapter 766," teachers or administrators can refer students who are discipline problems for extensive evaluations by the core team of special education professionals.²⁰ And at a Chicago Board of Education meeting it was stated that some 1,200 students had been "blue-slipped" (referred for psychological examination) and are awaiting their tests.

To the extent that a child's behavior problems are caused by psychological, emotional or or-

ganic troubles, the merging of these two domains is helpful: children may stop being punished for exhibiting their symptoms and get the professional diagnosis and prescription for treatment they need to overcome their difficulties. Teachers will have recourse to expert advice in determining why a child is acting out in school. This is important, since teachers and administrators are neither psychologists nor doctors and tend either to ignore underlying causes of misbehavior or try their own rehabilitative remedies which may not address the problems directly.

There are dangers, however, in this combination of discipline and special education. First, it sets up the expectation or assumption that "disruptions" are caused by "problem" children when, in fact, they may be caused by "normal" children who have real disagreements with each other, their teachers or school rules. The presumption of disability and its accompanying stigma may humiliate innocent children. Second, now that there are due process requirements before a child can be removed from class for disciplinary reasons, administrators may use the pretext of special education or diagnosis to remove a child from class or school. One parent in Chicago commented, "Parents are now dealing with the era of the blue-slip plantation."²¹ Third, while the diagnosis may be useful for all disruptive students to undergo (identifying those children who have other special problems and confirming that the others do not), the temptation for schools may be to lump these two groups together in treatment programs. Clearly, one program for "disruptive" students ranging from frustrated dyslexics to minimally brain damaged to emotionally disturbed to children who settle scores with their fists will be overburdened and ineffective.

Work-Study Alternatives

Industrial Skills Center

For 353 young men who left high school without a diploma, there is a program in the

¹⁹Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 93rd Congress, Second Session on H.R. 6265 and H.R. 9298 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 84.

²⁰Massachusetts General Laws Annotated, Chapter 15, Section 1M (formerly Chapter 766, 1975).

²¹Interview with Ida Mae Fletcher, President, United Concerned Parents, Chicago, Illinois, February 12, 1975.

Chicago Public School System that is successful in meeting their needs. The Industrial Skills Center (ISC) in the Lawndale Area on the West Side of Chicago began in September, 1969, for students ages 16 through 20 who had been out of school a few weeks, months or years. Some had left school voluntarily, others were expelled, suspended, pushed out or had just returned from jail sentences. Of the 353 students currently enrolled in ISC, 300 of them are known to the courts and 150 have actually served time in jail. Director Viso estimates that since enrollment in the program, less than 10 percent of the students have had any new contact with the law. The student body is 65 percent black, 22 percent Latino (mostly Puerto Rican and Mexican) and 13 percent white. Students who are currently enrolled refer both friends and relatives to the school and there is a waiting list of 500 to 1,000 students.²²

The school combines schoolwork and vocational training, with students spending half their day studying reading, math, science and other academic courses and half their day working on projects funded and supervised by leading companies in Chicago for which they get paid an hourly wage.²³ They go to school from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m., 5 days a week, 50 weeks a year.

The school is non-graded. Students work individually at their own rate of learning in

When questioned about expansion of the program, Mr. Viso replied that he had assessed the needs in the Lawndale Area in 1970 of a school for women. He found 7,500 women in the neighborhood, 13-17 years old, who were out of school. Viso identified staff and designed a program. He also identified staff and designed three more schools for young men for consideration by the Board. The Board of Education has been considering this proposal for four years. There has been no action taken by the Board to expand or duplicate the program. Interview with Philip A. Viso, February 10, 1975.

The students work four hours a day, five days a week. They can be paid \$1.70 to \$3.00 an hour for the 20 hours. Students on the average earn between \$35.00 and \$60.00 a week in school, or about \$2,000 per year. Their work is produced specifically for an industry which wants their products: cables for the telephone company, repaired color televisions, salvaged emission systems from Ford Motor Company cars, etc.



academic areas, earning credits when they complete a prescribed amount of work. In addition to 14 academic staff and 3 counselors, there are 3 full-time staff from industry, 2 assistant principals and 1 principal.

There have been no suspensions in the six years of the program. The school is well-kept, clean and completely devoid of any graffiti, vandalism or student abuse. This is particularly striking since many of the students at ISC had caused trouble in their previous schools, and there are major amounts of equipment in ISC's shop areas which could easily be stolen or vandalized. Yet at ISC, the students treat the building, its equipment, their teachers and each other



with respect. They seem to take personal responsibility for keeping credible the sign posted in the entrance to the first floor. "We're Number One." They monitor each other's compliance with the school rules: no alcohol, no drugs and treat each other with respect. And Director Viso extends that feeling to his teachers. He tells them at the start not to *expect* respect from students, but to *earn* it by respecting the school and the students. When there is a difficulty, staff take time out and sit and talk to students while the assistant principal or Director Viso covers their class. The teachers receive continuous in-service teaching training to renew their resources to handle students' troubles. Mr. Viso captured their approach to discipline when he said, "The job of this school is to help students with problems; therefore, students can not be excluded." Parents are kept informed of their sons' progress and are welcome in the school. Mr. Viso often will call them, saying, "Your son is a fine human being and we want you to help us help him."

The results of this program by any standard of evaluation are truly inspiring. Many former dropouts have received their high school diplomas and are now in well-paying jobs with career lines or in college for further training. The companies investing in ISC are enthusiastic about the students they get as employees, as well as reassured that their equipment and training are well used. There is widespread pride in the community about the school, which recently included in its job training program a course on construction and carpentry in which the students renovated a two-story building in the community. Students' reading scores and other skill levels have risen steadily. Entering with scores as low as 40, all students graduate with scores between 100 to 130.² Attendance at ISC is higher than the average either for Chicago's general high schools or its vocational high

² Interview with Philip Viso, February 10, 1978.

schools. 91.8 percent, 83.0 percent and 87.3 percent, respectively.²⁵

This is astounding when one considers that ISC students were the former truants of the public schools who, by their own accounts and school records, went to school about 10 to 15 percent of the time. The program has been so successful in dealing with young men who have had problems that several judges in Chicago have asked ISC to accept students who otherwise would spend time in jail. Instead of that sentence, they are referred to ISC on probation. Nine students over the past two years have been so placed and have completed their year's probation without incident.

The Industrial Skills Center, which is seen as an external school alternative to suspension by the central school administration, in fact is a program which does not need to use suspension to discipline a potentially disruptive student body. Instead of suspension, ISC uses its other resources to make the school function well, strong, experienced leadership by the director, skilled and humane staff, flexible programming with individualized curriculum, realistic vocational training and the opportunity to earn money while in school, parent involvement, a manageably small student population, a racially balanced staff and plenty of time and patience for counseling.

Career Study Centers

The St. Paul Public School System runs two Career Study Centers each serving approximately 110 seventh through twelfth grade students. They function as an annex to all of the secondary schools in the school system, with each high school having a certain number of slots available for student placements. Students volunteer to participate, but they are usually those who are acting out, violent or truant.²⁶ The

²⁵Interview with Philip Viso, February 10, 1975.

²⁶While the students may have a history of misconduct in traditional high schools, the Centers have filed only five petitions for violent students and one for truancy, over the past five-and-one-half years.



Centers suspend students but at the rate of 3 to 4 students a trimester, or about 12 a year. Initially supported by FSEA Title III funding and local foundation support, by next year both Centers will be totally supported by the St. Paul Public Schools.²⁷

The Centers combine 15 hours a week of schoolwork with 10 hours a week of paid work outside of school.²⁸ Those students unable to

During the current session of the State Legislature, a substantial amount of funding was requested and denied to provide seed money for more Career Study Centers throughout the state of Minnesota.

The cost per student in the Career Study Centers ranges between \$2,700 and \$3,000 compared with \$1,400 per student for the average student in the St. Paul Public Schools. However, it costs \$9,000 per year to maintain a student in the local juvenile correctional facility. It may seem a bit facetious to compare per pupil costs for school programs with per person cost in a correctional facility. However, in many school systems, a program such as the Career Study Center is the last stop for a young person before he or she either drops out of school or is referred by

handle a job participate in school programs of up to 25 hours a week.

This program, like many discipline programs separated from regular public schools, was originally intended to reintegrate students back into regular school. However, the majority of the students stay for 20 months, receiving their degree through the Centers, with a diploma from the sending high school.²⁹

The Career Study Centers, like the Industrial Skills Center in Chicago, were set up to relieve the system of disruptive secondary students. However, they have evolved a far more successful internal disciplinary system than the regular school programs from which their students come. They illustrate well that school systems can effectively deal with children who are discipline problems. How to disseminate information about and duplicate such approaches *within* the regular school programs to help more students as well as to eliminate alternative isolation from the mainstream is the challenge.

District-Wide Alternatives

The Walk-In School

The Walk-In School in Columbia, South Carolina is a non-graded program with 160 students, 60 black and 100 white, between the ages of 13 and 20. Housed in an old elementary school, it functions as an extension for the 18,000 students in 19 secondary schools in Columbia. The program was designed in July, 1972, as an alternative for students who had been disruptive in school, who had been pregnant, who had been suspended and expelled or had been apathetic and unsuccessful in school. The majority of the students in the program were dropouts. Students who volunteered to go to the Walk-In School instead of being expelled were allowed to partici-

pate in the extracurricular activities of their former secondary school.

Students planned the philosophy and curriculum for the school with the staff. Each day is divided into a number of academic modules to encourage students to pick and choose among a wide range of high school courses. Students enter and leave a subject as they complete their work. Learning labs with individualized instruction for 13 to 20 students are available. Students can participate in a district-wide career center or they can work 20 percent of their time in the community and receive credit from the school.

Teachers are selected from diversified backgrounds and are "people who honestly care about the kids and believe in what we're doing. . . . We have real problems and need people who have strong assets."³⁰ Everybody in the school teaches, including the secretary and the custodian, parents and students. Every staff member functions as an advisor and personal counselor to about 20 students and each staff member has contact once a month with each parent.

In its first two years of existence, the Walk-In School *never* suspended a student. In the 1973-74 school year, the students completed an average, of 75 percent of their learning contracts, compared with a past record of completing 64 percent of school credits. Their attendance record was 93 percent in 1973-74 school year, compared to a previous 68 percent. There was an average 2.4 grade level increase in reading score per student and a 1.2 grade level increase in mathematics per student. A self-concept scale test showed a positive increase.

Students are not transferred out of this program and while they are free to leave the school if they choose to, few do. "There are different kinds of ways to meet the needs of education. Any time you mass people together, you dehumanize and depersonalize them. Putting smaller groups of students and teachers together—that helps in and of itself. You have

the school system to a court administered program or gets in trouble and is placed in a correctional facility. Unfortunately, the step between school discipline programs and court administered facilities is very short for many students.

²⁹Interview with Kenneth E. Osvold, Director, Career Study Centers I and II, St. Paul, Minnesota, May 5, 1975.

³⁰Interview with William Howell, Director, Walk-In School, Richland County School District No. 1, Columbia, South Carolina, March 20, 1975.



got to have the right people. It can be done. It takes that kind of commitment."

The Outposts

The Outpost Program was begun in Fall 1968 to alleviate the problems of dropouts from Farragut High School, a regular secondary school in Chicago. Currently there are four Outposts in District 10 serving dropouts or potential dropouts. Farragut Outpost Division #179 has 55 students enrolled, all male, ages 14 to 21 years old. There are three staff who do the administration, instruction and counseling in the program. The Better Boys Foundation, a community organization, contributes the space, staff and fund raising efforts.

The students have multiple reasons for being in the Outpost: some were kicked out of school for truancy, others had discipline problems or family problems, some had been out of school

for a period of time. One student related how, after he had been removed from a school because of truancy, he went to nine different schools seeking admission and was refused at all of them. He ended up in the office of one District Superintendent who referred him to the Farragut Outpost. Another student stated that the reason he joined the Outpost was his misclassification by Farragut High School into a bilingual program. Although this student is of Hispanic background, his facility is in the English language and he does not speak or read Spanish. After his repeated requests to be placed in a regular track of the high school were denied, he left. He subsequently enrolled himself in Farragut Outpost. Students have actually transferred from high schools outside of District 10 into Farragut High School, so that they could then request admission directly to the Outpost.

The program is traditional in its presentation of academic subjects, but the atmosphere is relaxed and there are strong, personal relationships between the students and teachers. Coun-

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selling and individual guidance is a major part of the program.

The Outpost at the Better Boys Foundation is in a poor neighborhood. The space is makeshift. Funding and back-up services for the task undertaken are inadequate. It is always painful to see how obvious it is that the school system does not want different students and would prefer that they just go away and not be heard from again.

City-Wide Alternative Programs

Both the Seattle, Washington Public Schools and the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Public Schools have city-wide alternative programs. The Seattle Public Schools offer a range of 29 different alternate education programs, for all age levels, which encompass a wide range of realistic choices of teaching and learning styles to staff, students and parents. One program provides a community-based alternative treatment program for juveniles who have had contact with the police. Another offers five educational options within the student's own high school. There is a free school, an open space elementary school program and several programs for dropouts. Instead of returning to the same situation which might have caused his or her suspendable behavior, a student has an alternative program available.

Philadelphia has an official Alternative Programs Office to coordinate the almost 120 alternative programs provided for almost 10,000 students. In the formal descriptions of the programs, it appears that 6 programs on the elementary level, and 20 programs on the secondary level are specifically directed toward students who have had disciplinary problems in school or who have become alienated from the regular school programs.

Conclusion

Obviously, we advocate developing alternatives to educate children to deter, prevent or end disruption. But the danger of proliferating programs designed specifically for troubled children is the temptation to label and place ever-increasing numbers of children in them. Marcus Foster, the late superintendent of schools in

Oakland, California, discussed his experience as a principal of one such school in Philadelphia. After he had established a sound academic program, emphasized respect for the students and insisted on intensive, personalized support for the students, O.V. Catto School became a success. However, when asked if he would like to see a lot more schools like Catto so that students with special problems could get the kind of intense help that was being provided, he replied, "...no, I wouldn't want to see another one. The more special schools for a particular type of youngster are built, the more adept the authorities become in locating children to fill them up. If a hundred disciplinary schools were built, they would run around and find enough children to fill them." He continued:

Even with students in disciplinary schools, the goal ought to be to return the youngsters to their regular schools. Very often their problems are of a transitory nature—a crisis in the family or a specific remediable learning problem that has caused a school failure and subsequent misbehavior. Temporary isolation with intensive help and support can put many of these youngsters back on the right track. But there is no question that eventually and sooner rather than later—they must return to the heterogeneous mix of society at large.³²

The examples in this chapter cannot possibly give an adequate picture of the people, program successes and obstacles that comprise alternatives to suspensions. In an increasing number of school systems there is some new program to cope with students who in earlier years would have conformed, failed or been excluded. We do not want to hold these up as models to be dutifully replicated. In order for an alternative to succeed it needs to be impeccably tailored to the local situation. We merely summarized some of these as examples of programs currently being tried to help those who want to try but do not have alternatives at their disposal. We urge you to write to a program which you think might be adapted to your community for more specific information.

³²Marcus A. Foster, *Making Schools Work. Strategies for Changing Education*. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971)

Postscript

On Effective Advocacy

Parents must fight for their children's right to an education. This includes demanding fair procedures as well as seeking to affect substantive practices in the area of discipline. Parents should systematically monitor schools' behavior regarding the exclusion of their children from school and question those decisions vigorously. No procedure and no rule, however fine, works unless it is enforced. Few officials, however dedicated, act without outside pressure, either because of the many demands on them or because of countervailing political considerations. Parents should seek information from school officials about school discipline policies, get involved in organizing groups to discuss these policies and practices, seek to work constructively with school officials on alternatives to suspension, and challenge nonresponsive and or illegal school actions. They should keep careful records noting the dates, comments and commitments made in all conversations with school officials. If parents cannot make any impact with local authorities, they should contact higher school officials, state and federal governmental agencies and advocates who may help.

Pay Attention to the Selection of Principals

If we had to make one recommendation to parents and local advocacy groups, it would be to seek a voice in the selection of principals and to work with the principal to ensure consistent and sensible discipline policies and practices.

Principals, more than anyone else, determine the atmosphere in a school and how discipline will be administered. The principals we interviewed in Chapter I are good examples of the kinds of qualities parents might seek in those who so influence their schools and their children's lives. We think there are many more of these committed people working in public schools today. They need to be identified, encouraged and supported by parents.

Know What Information Is Available

Since 1968 OCR has conducted an annual Civil Rights Survey collecting information to see whether there was racial discrimination in suspension and expulsion practices as well as a host of other aspects of schooling affecting minority group youngsters.¹ OCR surveyed every school

The Survey collects information by race for each school on items such as enrollment, retention in the same grade, assignment to programs for Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR) or Trainable Mentally Retarded (TMR); emotionally disturbed, socially maladjusted, underachievers and or slow learners; physical, health, sensory and related handicapped; specific learning disabled, pupils suspended less than 20 consecutive days, and number of suspension days. Additional information collected on each individual school includes grade span, number of physical education classes or sections which are comprised of 80 percent or more of pupils of one sex, number of all other classes or sections which are comprised of 80 percent or more of pupils of one sex, pupils transported at public expense, and a variety of information on ability grouping.

system which had 10 percent or more minority student enrollment and every system that had one school with 50 percent or more minority students enrolled. Beginning in Fall 1968 and until the Fall 1972 survey, all school systems enrolling 3,000 or more pupils and a large sample of those with less than 3,000 pupils were surveyed every two years.² Completion of the Civil Rights Survey was required under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. A willfully false statement on the survey is punishable by law.

Under the Freedom of Information Act, passed by Congress in 1966 and effective July, 1967, the Civil Rights Survey forms are available to any individual who requests them for the cost of reproduction (no more than 10 cents a page). Many school systems will give parents and community organizations copies of the Civil Rights

For the school system as a whole information is reported by race on enrollment, subdivided by resident and non-resident pupils; assignment to programs for EMR and LMR; emotionally disturbed, socially maladjusted underachievers and or slow learners, physical, health, sensory or related handicapped; specific learning disabled; pupils expelled or suspended over 20 consecutive days; resident pupils enrolled in another public school system; resident pupils enrolled in non-public schools; and dropouts. Additional information collected on the school system as a whole includes number of schools in the system, number of schools using ability grouping, number of single sex schools, different graduation requirements according to sex, a series of questions on numbers of and programs for non-English-speaking and bilingual pupils, and new school construction data.

The selection of districts to survey was determined at a time when OCR had responsibility to identify and correct instances of discrimination based only on race, color, or national origin. Since the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibiting sex discrimination and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 prohibiting discrimination against handicapped persons, including school children, OCR has been mandated with responsibility to identify and correct discrimination in schools on the additional bases of sex and handicap. Discrimination on the basis of sex and handicap can occur in any school district regardless of minority student enrollment. Consequently, an annual survey of all school districts in the country is the only way OCR can fulfill its responsibility to identify potential discrimination based on all these areas—race, color, national origin, sex and handicap.

Survey forms, but they are not required to. If your school system will not give you the forms, request them from an OCR regional office or the Washington, D.C. office. From these forms you should be able to get information for each individual school (Form OS CR 102) and for the school system as a whole (Form OS CR 101), by race (American Indian, Black American, Asian American, Spanish Surnamed American and all other pupils including "whites") on the number of children suspended and expelled or any of the other information collected.

You should also request copies of written discipline codes, rules or procedures from your school district. If they have none, you should insist that they adopt them and disseminate them among all members of the school and parent community. Then monitor the application and enforcement of these rules.

Make Complaints

Federal law requires OCR to investigate and resolve every complaint it receives alleging discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, sex and handicap.³

In 1970, HEW was sued for failure to enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education in the 17 southern and border states. Under the terms of a court order in that case, *Adams v. Weinberger*, OCR has been ordered to investigate and resolve complaints within 180 days or to begin 30 days after that administrative proceedings leading to federal fund termination. Specifically, in a court decree most recently updated March 14, 1974, OCR must:

- 1) Within 90 days after receiving a complaint or other information of racial discrimination, determine whether the school system is in or out of compliance with Title VI.
- 2) Where there is not a determination of compliance by the 90th day, attempt to negotiate voluntary compliance during an additional 90-day period.
- 3) Where compliance is not secured within 180 days of the receipt of the complaint or other information of racial discrimination, begin within 30 days an enforcement proceeding through administrative notice of hearing (which can end with fund termination) or any other means authorized by law.

On June 4, 1975, HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger proposed a new civil rights procedural regulation which

If you think your children are being treated unfairly because of their race, color, national origin, sex or handicap, write a letter to:

Peter E. Holmes, Director
Office for Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education & Welfare
4th and Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201

Explain your problem in detail, that is, what happened and has been happening and why you think discrimination is involved. Try to back up your charges with records of conversations with school officials.

In order to help CDF keep track of whether OCR is meeting its responsibility to respond and resolve complaints in timely fashion, send carbon copies of your letters of complaint to.

Children's Defense Fund
1520 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Before or along with contacting the federal government, attempt to resolve your problem with your local school officials. Seek a meeting with the principal and write a complaint to the school board. These steps should be taken regardless of whether there is an issue of racial discrimination. If satisfaction is not obtained, then seek outside help from your city and state human relations commissions or write to the federal Office for Civil Rights.

Do Not Accept Bureaucratic Excuses for Inaction

Ending school suspension will require a lot of persistence and ability to get past the defensive-

would eliminate the requirement that OCR investigate and resolve every complaint it receives. This proposed regulation is inconsistent with federal civil rights laws, HEW's current regulations and the court order in *Adams v. Weinberger*. We do not know whether this new regulation will be allowed to stand. Many organizations and individuals have notified HEW of their opposition to the change and lawyers litigating *Adams v. Weinberger* are challenging the regulations in court. Should the proposed regulation become OCR practice, and at this moment we have no reason to believe it will, individuals should continue to submit letters of complaint to OCR. OCR will continue to respond to many complaints and CDF will constantly urge OCR to investigate every single complaint we know about.

ness many school people will exhibit. The entrenched attitudes of too many officials, their stake in being right after all these years even in the face of patent evidence that their policies are not working, public ignorance about the facts and complexities of school processes, parental exclusion from and lack of confidence in their ability to challenge big and awesome school bureaucracies, and the lack of developed advocacy in this area all add up to considerable hurdles to overcome.

But change is as necessary as it is hard. Endless excuses will be heard to justify inaction. Though we challenge many arguments against fair hearings for school suspension in particular in Chapter 5, a few more general excuses for not ending suspensions must be anticipated and refuted. Do not accept these if you hear them. Insist that officials work out alternatives which discipline children without excluding them. You may hear:

1. *We educators know best: Parents and others do not understand the problems we face daily with children and we must use the discipline techniques we choose.*

If they are such experts, the suspension problem would not have gotten out of hand and increasing fears and concerns about school discipline would not be so pervasive. It is ironic that school officials resort so frequently to methods which undercut the purpose of educating children.

Parents must begin to assert themselves more in the educational lives of their children. Regarding *your child*, you are and should be second to none in expertise. Nothing is more crucial than that parents gain the confidence to act and understand their right to hold school officials accountable for minimal standards of performance and fairness. School officials are supplements to, not substitutes for, parents. They should not be permitted to exclude your child without a valid legal and educational basis for doing so. Demand that they give you such reasons in writing. If you have questions about the validity of the action, seek help to challenge the decision keeping your child out of school.

2. *Education is a privilege, not a right. Only those children who behave properly deserve to go to school. Troublemakers deserve to be out.*



This is another common refrain used to justify suspension. However, the schools are public and compulsory in 49 states and the District of Columbia because somewhere in our history it became important for *all* children to receive an adequate education. Attribute it to needing enlightened voters, sufficiently trained laborers or increasingly skilled technicians, but it has long been acknowledged that education is a matter of great importance for all citizens. The Supreme Court affirmed its importance in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 and again in *Goss v. Lopez* in 1975 when it said that children had a property and liberty interest in education protected by the United States Constitution. More and more lower courts are recognizing what parents have known all along: that without an education in

this society, youngsters are doomed to failure.⁵ Having determined to provide schools and to make the credentials they provide tickets to the larger society, schools cannot be permitted to provide it only for children who do not challenge school processes in any way.

3. *Majority concern.* *Schools must be concerned with the majority of children who want to learn and not those who disrupt the class.*

We do not want to advance civil liberties for their own abstract sake or to champion the rights of the underdog no matter who else they hurt. Some of us are parents of "good" children who may also suffer from the "disruptions" of others. Some of us are teachers who understand how

As the Fifth Circuit recently pointed out in a school suspension case: "In our increasingly technological society, getting at least a high school education is almost necessary for survival. Stripping a child of access to educational opportunity is a life sentence to second-rate citizenship." *Lee v. Macon County*, *supra*, at 460.

5. Of course, suspension is a violation of a child's right to receive a public education, but it is not a violation of a child's right to receive a public education for its children.

difficult it is to stretch energy and patience to cover 30 "good" children. But educators should not be in the position of choosing between children—some to nurture, others to ignore. We believe no school child is expendable. Each one needs an education, and if he or she exhibits a behavior problem that infringes on the rights of others, then it is up to the school to identify the cause of the misbehavior and work out an educational program that at once removes the child from a troubling situation but does not remove him or her from school.

4. *Improper jurisdiction: It is not our job to solve all the problems of children who come before us. If children have behavior problems, let the family and other institutions deal with them.*

But it is the job of school officials to educate all children. They cannot do this by excluding them. Children who are very difficult to handle ought to be removed from a class temporarily. But we need to define what constitutes disruption carefully and think about what happens next. As a South Carolina newspaper said about a six-year-old kindergarten child who had been recently expelled from school:

Where does a six year old child go? For a number of years the school has been looked upon as the place where kids could go for training, fellowship, guidance and many other things in a preparation for life's processes. If the opportunity to get a proper education by a six year old kindergarten student is taken away from him, then where does he go? Where does a six year old Black child go? Think about it!⁶

Perhaps the question is even more important when the child is 14. The answer is likely to be that he will go on the streets, with no formal agency or adult having responsibility for his daily actions, and with learning, emotional or



behavior problems escalating, he will end up in delinquent involvement.

5. *Children must understand and respect authority. We cannot back down or things will get out of hand. They take advantage of weakness.*

Ground rules for learning ought to be set in schools and strictly adhered to. There is no question that children, particularly adolescents, test the tolerance of adults and institutions and need to be taught firm and consistent limits. But teachers and principals need to reevaluate which of the many school rules are the legitimate guideposts for safety and education, and which are there either for bureaucratic efficiency or to artificially prop a teacher's sense of authority.

Authority does not license unfairness, such as the racial and social class disproportions in suspension which we have found. It does not justify insensitivity, such as suspension for incontinency or cleanliness or being too poor to pay for books or school fees. And authority does not

⁶"Point of View," *The Carolina Messenger*, (Bennettsville, South Carolina), p. 1. This view was corroborated by another South Carolina newspaper as well, which stated that the expulsion had "attracted the attention of those who feel that South Carolina schools—and schools in most states—are misusing their ultimate disciplinary tools of suspension and expulsion." "School Too Quick to Expel," *The Charlotte Observer*, (Charlotte, South Carolina Sunday, February 16, 1975).



legitimize unnecessary actions, such as suspending a child for verbal confrontations which, if handled immediately and flexibly, could be resolved discreetly without loss of schooling.

There are those who believe that obedience is the same as authority and respect for the law. They believe that good habits taught unwaveringly at home and in school will make good citizens. They leave out any free will or rationality or decision-making or, as Horace Mann put it, "conscience" on the part of students. Yet increasingly schools are being asked to teach children to solve problems rather than memorize facts. The ability to reason, to question, to know how to gather information and assess it are important both in terms of academic subject areas and respect for the law. As one principal told us, "I tell my teachers, 'Don't expect the kids to respect you just because you're the teacher. If you show them respect, you'll get it in return. And from then on your authority will not be questioned.' It has worked in every case."

Interview with Philip A. Vaso, February 10, 1975

You should help teachers develop the flexibility to deal with your children. Confer with them when a problem arises. Support their decision if it is justified. If it is not, show them why it is not and suggest other ways to deal with a conflict that allows them to control their class and yet does not rob your child of schooling.

6. *Lack of alternatives. Without the power to expel and suspend, we would have no way to maintain control. Chaos would result.*

This is demonstrably untrue since many school officials and teachers in many districts do not suspend or expel children and function quite well, as illustrated in Chapters 1 and 6. More and more school officials are resorting to in-school disciplinary tools. Too many officials who claim lack of alternatives have never tried to find them. If your child's school does not have an alternative program or services, try to find out what kind of program would be useful to a large enough number of students to constitute a class. See if any teachers are interested in working in an alternative setting within the public system. Support those teachers. Volunteer, or find other

parents or community people to volunteer, time as teacher aides or teachers of specific technical skills students are interested in learning. There are numerous sources of materials, experiences and part-time personnel available for school

children. It usually just takes the imagination and energy to coordinate them all. Identify these sources in your community and or make it clear to teachers and school officials that you support their actions in this area.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Methodology

This report relies on two primary sources of data: (1) results of an extensive household survey on children out of school which were published earlier by the Children's Defense Fund in *Children Out of School in America*; and (2) our analysis of information submitted by school districts to the federal Office for Civil Rights. The methodology used for collecting and analyzing the original data on children out of school, including information on school suspensions and other disciplinary actions, and for our analysis of the OCR data follows:

I. CDF Survey of Children Out of School

The 1970 U.S. Census indicated where the most serious problems of school nonenrollment were, and what the impact of location, income, parental education and minority status was on the likelihood of children being out of school. However, Census data could not tell us who these children were, why they were out, and what it meant to them. We therefore decided to do a door-to-door survey in various parts of the country in order to answer these questions.

We gathered information on children out of school and also on problems of children attending school, such as unmet special educational needs or disciplinary actions taken against them. In order to assure a measure of comparability in the data collected, we designed a questionnaire that was used uniformly throughout the survey. The entire questionnaire, a copy of which is

included at the end of Appendix A in *Children Out of School in America*, pp. 163-168, served as a guide for monitors in gathering information about all school-age children in every household visited. The questionnaire covered facts and issues about children out of school; special educational needs, programs and schools; discipline; and certain family characteristics. All household interviews were conducted in confidence and no information on individual households visited will be released to anyone outside of the Children's Defense Fund.

Selection of Areas

Areas to monitor were selected in a combination of ways. We sought a balance of factors such as regional variation, racial and ethnic mix, urban and rural populations and different income levels. After consulting Census data, we asked for recommendations from individuals familiar with state and local situations in various places. We chose 30 areas to survey:

Alabama
Autauga County
Beat 10
Montgomery
Census Tract 3
Northgate Housing Project

Colorado
Denver
Census Tract 1.01
Census Tract 8
Census Tract 41.01

Georgia
Hancock County
Georgia Militia Districts 102 and 113
Macon
Census Tract 127

Iowa
Davenport
Census Tract 107
Census Tract 123

Kentucky
Floyd County
Mud Creek Area

Maine
Portland
Census Tract 11
Census Tract 12
Census Tract 19
Bayside East Housing Project
Riverton Housing Project

Massachusetts
Cambridge
Census Tract 3524
Census Tract 3527
Holyoke
Census Tract 8114
New Bedford
Census Tract 6510
Census Tract 6526
Somerville
Census Tract 3512
Springfield
Census Tract 8008
Census Tract 8018

Mississippi
Canton
Joe Prichard Homes Housing Project

South Carolina
Columbia
Census Tract 5
Census Tract 22
Sumter County
Precinct 2
Precincts 1 and 26B

Washington, D.C.
Census Tract 74.04

Monitors visited at least every fourth household. Sampling was done consistently within Census tracts and political subdivisions, but differently among them. Households where there was no answer or a refusal to answer were noted

and tabulated. When a monitor found no one home at the designated household, the monitor visited the preceding household in the count. (In a few areas, the next household was visited.) The count always resumed from the original household whether or not an interview was obtained at the preceding (or next) household. If there was no answer at the designated household and the household preceding it, the monitor noted this and continued on with the original count from the designated household. Monitors did not go back (or forward) more than one household before or after the designated household.

All interviewing was done between July, 1973 and March, 1974. In analyzing the data we collected, the school year 1972-73 (both semesters) always was examined. However, in some places interviewing was done a month or more after the 1973-74 school year had begun. In those places, the analysis covered up to a three semester time period. We calculated children out of school by two different measures: 1) children who missed three or more consecutive months of school, and 2) children who missed 45 days of school, whether or not it was consecutive. The survey analysis period for these two measures included 1972-73 and that portion of the first semester that had passed. Our calculations on suspensions were done on this same two- and sometimes three-semester basis.

For a brief description of each specific place we monitored, see *Children Out of School in America*, pp. 157-162.

Suspension Data

Portions of the CDF Survey Questionnaire—School Expulsions, Suspensions and Disciplinary Transfers, and Family/Household Questionnaire—were the sources of the suspension data.

Data on children who had been suspended were collected and summarized from our survey following procedures similar to those used in studying children out of school. We found some children suspended who also met the criteria for being counted in our out-of-school data. These children were counted in both summaries. Detailed data on children suspended were collected

and tables were computed to show the following.

reasons for suspension
social and ethnic characteristics by sex for
all children and for secondary school children
secondary school children by sex and race;
frequency and duration
family characteristics such as poverty indicated by AFDC and other public assistance as sole or partial support, educational attainment of head of household and female-headed households.

Other Information

CDF staff also collected information on school programs, policies and practices in 17 school districts where the children in our survey went to school. We interviewed teachers, counselors and officials, asking primarily about special education, discipline and other policies which could exclude children from school.

Sample Questionnaire

All monitors used an identical household questionnaire prepared by CDF. They also received an accompanying packet of materials which included an instruction sheet, a memorandum explaining the basis for the report, a set of definitions of terms, and a guide to reasons why children might be out of school, in special schools, or in special programs. All monitors participated in training sessions conducted by CDF staff members before beginning the survey.

All school official interviews were conducted by CDF and AFSC staff working from much more detailed material.

The following two questionnaires were used in the survey to obtain data on school discipline:

School Expulsions, Suspensions and Disciplinary Transfers*

1. (a) Name
- (b) Age
- (c) Birthday
- (d) Sex
- (e) Race

*Fill out for each child ever expelled or suspended even if child is in a regular program in regular school.

2. Was child ever expelled from school?
 - (a) If yes, how many times?
 - (b) For each time explain:
 - (1) When?
 - (2) For how long? Why?
 - (3) Reasons given by school officials.
 - (4) Parent/guardian and child's versions
3. Was child ever suspended from school?
 - (a) If yes, how many times?
 - (b) For each time explain:
 - (1) When?
 - (2) For how long? Why?
 - (3) Reason given by school officials.
 - (4) Parent/guardian and child's version
4. Has child ever been transferred for disciplinary reasons from school to school?
 - (a) If yes, how many times?
 - (b) For each time explain:
 - (1) When?
 - (2) For how long? Why?
 - (3) Reason given by school officials.
 - (4) Parent/guardian and child's version
5. Procedure:
 - (a) How and by whom was he notified?
 - (b) Race national origin of group or individual who expelled him/her?
 - (c) Was a hearing held with school officials? If yes, who was present?
 - (d) If no, were you informed of a right to a hearing? By whom?
 - (e) Did you request a hearing? Explain.
 - (f) Was child allowed, and did child have, assistance from a lawyer or other independent third party?
 - (g) How did child get back in school?
 - (h) What did child do when he/she was out of school?
6. Following expulsion or suspension was the child enrolled in any institution or special school? Explain.

Family/Household Questionnaire

1. Number of people who live in this house?
 - (a) Number of adults (18 years and over)
 - (b) Number of children.
2. Are children living with parents?
 - (a) If not, who are they living with?
3. Are there children in this family who are not living at home?
Where are they living? (Be as specific as possible)
4. Language spoken in home?
5. Last year of school completed by parents or adult responsible for child.

6. What is the source of income for household?
7. Who has a job who lives in this house?
 - (a) What kinds of jobs do they have?

II. OCR Suspension Data

General

There were 2,862 school districts reporting to OCR during both 1972-73 and 1973-74. In the October 1972 filing, each district reported the number of students, by ethnicity, enrolled on or about October 1, 1972. In the October 1973 filing, each district reported the total number of students suspended at least once during the 1972-73 school year, and the total number of days of suspension for the same period. Both the counts of students suspended at least once, and the counts of days were also broken out by ethnicity.

The districts reporting are *not* a random sample of all school districts in the nation. Rather they are a census of all school districts containing substantial minority enrollments, except for very small (under 300 total district enrollment) districts. The set of districts constitutes a census of school suspension policies affecting the 24,188,681 students enrolled in the 2,862 school districts, rather than a sample of some larger group of students. Furthermore the set of districts represents more than 50 percent of the total school enrollment in the nation and almost 90 percent of the total minority school enrollment.

The listing in this appendix shows the 351 school districts which, when ranked by one of four criteria for each of the five ethnic groups, and for the total enrolled population of students fall into the worst 50 districts in at least one of those categories. The six categories of students (total and five ethnic groups) are: all students, white, black, Spanish surnamed, Indian Americans and Asian Americans.

Indices of Incidence of Suspensions

For each of these six categories of students, the districts were ranked by four attributes.

- (1) *Number of Students Suspended* ("N

SP"), this is the count of students suspended at least once during the 1972-73 school year. The OCR definition would imply that students suspended multiple times would be counted just once in this total, but there are some indications that numerous districts counted suspensions and not suspended students, thus somewhat exaggerating their figures.

- (2) *Percent Suspended* ("P_{SUSP}"); this is the suspension rate which equals the number of students suspended at least once divided by the number of students enrolled ("ENROLL") and multiplied by 100. Whenever the number suspended exceeded the number enrolled the percent was set to 100.0 percent. The number enrolled is as of a single day in October 1972, while the number suspended is counted for the whole of the 1972-73 school year. Consequently, it is *possible* that more students of a group enrolled in a system during the year, and that they (along with the original students) were all suspended during the year. However, the four districts that do show a percent in excess of 100.0 percent (Columbia County, Georgia for Spanish students; Memphis, Tennessee and Berkeley County, South Carolina for American Indian students; and Cairo, Illinois for Asian-American students) appear to be reporting errors rather than districts with high turnover. One district, Henry County, Georgia, reported suspending 92 Indian students, despite the fact that no Indian students were enrolled. For this district, the percent suspended was set to zero.

- (3) *Excess suspensions over white rate* ("EXCESS"); this is the number of students suspended who would not have been suspended had their ethnic group's rate been as low as the white rate. It equals the actual number suspended minus the product of the group's enrollment times the white suspension rate. For the white students, this figure is calculated differently. For them, the base rate is the suspension rate of all non-white students. The calculation for the "all students" or "total" group is compared to the white rate, but, since whites are also included in the total group, this comparison tends not to single out districts with very low proportions of non-white students.

(4) *Percent higher than white rate ("%" HIGH")*: this is the difference between the ethnic group's suspension rate and the rate for the white students in the same district. Note that "EXCESS" would tend to single out larger districts, merely because any discrepancy in rates affects more students. Percent high ("%" HIGH") on the other hand, is not affected by the relative enrollments in the districts, but is a pure measure of the disparity in suspension rates. The value for the white students is calculated with a base percent of all the non-white students, just as for "EXCESS" described above. Similarly, the figure for total students refers to a base for the white group, and, since they are also a part of the total group itself, the comparison tends not to single out districts with very small portions of non-white enrollment.

Limitations Imposed on the Rankings

No district was selected for ranking with respect to the suspensions of an ethnic group if the district had less than 50 students of that group enrolled and less than 10 students of that group suspended. This was to avoid singling out districts with so few students of some group that one or two suspensions could largely account for the district's place in the listing. Similarly, no district was singled out for an "EXCESS" or "%" HIGH" comparison if the white group had fewer than 50 enrolled students and fewer than 10 suspensions. Finally, regardless of enrollments or suspension rates, no district was selected for ranking if it showed a figure lower than an arbitrary limit set in advance. For the number suspended, the arbitrary limit was 20 students suspended. For percent suspended, the arbitrary limit was 10 percent. For excess suspensions over white rate, the limit was 10, and for percent suspended above white rate, the limit was 5 percent. These limits were used in order to prevent singling out districts which happened to fall among the worst in the nation for some ethnic group, but which showed absolute levels of performance not much worse than the national average. These limits primarily affected the rankings for Asian-American students, since very few districts suspended large numbers or high percentages of

Asian-American students. Table 1 on the following page shows the actual number of districts ranked for each of the attributes and for each of the ethnic groups.

Notice that only black and Spanish students are suspended at so high a rate both absolutely and relative to whites that at least 50 districts are found above the cutoff levels for all four attributes. At the other extreme are the Asian American students whom only four districts suspend at a rate sufficiently higher than white rates to produce 10 or more suspensions in excess of white rates.

Sources of Inaccuracy in Data Reported to OCR

Three possible sources of inaccuracy are noted in the left margin of each district's entry in the following listing. The note numbers appear in parentheses just under the district's name, on the same line as the state name. The notes are:

(1) Districts with note (1) did not give the complete ethnic breakdown for the students they reported as suspended, or for the days of suspension. If any "unknown" suspensions were reported, the numbers appear under a column of that title. Some districts—Los Angeles, for example did not report *any* suspensions in 1972-73, and so do not appear in the listing at all. Other districts, Baltimore (city), Maryland for example did report suspensions but gave no ethnic breakdown for them. Still others New York and Chicago are examples gave an ethnic breakdown for only a small part of the total numbers that they reported suspending. Table 2 shows some of the districts with incomplete data.

The consequence of non-reporting is that a district may be shown in a too-favorable or too-unfavorable light in the following listing. Since there is no way for us to correct these districts reports, we have used the data available. This is unfortunate since, as the attached chart shows, many of the districts that failed to give ethnic breakdowns were the large cities where minorities are concentrated.

(2) A district with note (2) is largely composed of secondary students and is probably a consolidated ("regional") high school district for

TABLE 1
Number of Districts Ranked and Maximum and Minimum
Values for Each Ethnic Group By Attribute

<i>Attribute</i>	<i>Limit</i>	<i>Total¹</i>	<i>White²</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Asian</i>
Number Suspended ("N SUSP")							
Highest Ranked Value	20	28,645	6,491	8,412	1,497	379	199
Lowest Ranked Value		3,103	1,499	1,400	286	20	21
Rank of lowest Value		(50)	(50)	(50)	(50)	(42)	(17)
Percent Suspended ("% SUSP")							
Highest Ranked Value	10%	40.9%	44.4%	63.9%	100.0% ³	100.0% ³	100.0% ³
Lowest Ranked Value		14.9%	12.6%	22.3%	12.3%	10.0%	11.9%
Rank of Lowest Value		(50)	(50)	(50)	(50)	(23)	(9)
Number Suspended in excess of White Rate ("EXCESS")							
Highest Ranked Value	10	28,645.0	1,255.6	3,820.7	661.5	378.0	49.0
Lowest Ranked Value		960.7	56.0	752.2	63.4	10.3	21.0
Rank of Lowest Value		(50)	(50)	(50)	(50)	(41)	(4)
Percent Suspended above White Rate ("% HIGH")							
Highest Ranked Value	5%	27.1%	28.8%	38.9%	100.0% ³	100.0% ³	100.0% ³
Lowest Ranked Value		5.0%	5.1%	13.5%	5.1%	5.3%	5.6%
Rank of Lowest Value		(37)	(15)	(50)	(50)	(27)	(6)

1. Excess and % high computations for Total include whites as part of the total group.
2. Excess and % high computations for white students use all non-white students as the base.
3. These maxima are from districts that report suspending more students of the relevant ethnic groups than they had enrolled.

TABLE 2
Districts Which Failed to Give Complete Ethnic Breakdown
of Numbers of Suspended Students in the OCR October 1973 Report

<i>Rank</i>	<i>District Name</i>	<i>Number of unidentified suspensions</i>	<i>District Name</i>	<i>Percent of suspensions unidentified</i>
1	Chicago, Illinois	28,633	Phoenix Union High, Arizona	100.0
2	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	18,431	Bardstown, Kentucky	100.0
3	New York City, New York	16,268	Baltimore (city) Maryland	100.0
4	Rochester, New York	2,825	Downe, New Jersey	100.0
5	Baltimore (city) Maryland	1,790	Roselle, New Jersey	100.0
6	Willingboro, New Jersey	1,763	Cumberland, North Carolina	100.0
7	Waterbury, Connecticut	1,661	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	100.0
8	Peoria, Illinois	1,494	Chicago, Illinois	100.0
9	Bridgeport, Connecticut	1,010	Willingboro, New Jersey	98.4
10	Port Huron, Michigan	932	North Bergen, New Jersey	96.6
11	Providence, Rhode Island	890	Mt. Healthy, Ohio	83.9
12	Bridgeton, New Jersey	872	New York City, New York	83.4
13	North Bergen, New Jersey	794	Waterbury, Connecticut	81.8
14	Memphis, Tennessee	713	Peoria, Illinois	78.8
15	Cumberland County, North Carolina	689	Rudyard, Michigan	76.7

several autonomous elementary districts. Since we are reporting district total suspension figures, and since secondary students are suspended far more frequently than elementary students, a district with a very high proportion of secondary students will show up badly in the rankings. This is one of the reasons why we set the arbitrary cutoff levels for ranked values so that they would

be higher than the *secondary* (not combined) levels for the nation as a whole. Thus, mostly high school districts are *not* unfairly included, although their positions in the ranks may be somewhat higher than they would be if comparisons were made for secondary students only.

(3) Because enrollment data were in the district reports for October, 1972 and sus-

pension data for the 1972-73 school year were in the district reports for October, 1973, it was necessary to match records school-by-school within each district across the two years. Occasionally we found that a school record was missing for one school year or the other, or, when both records were present, the school had changed grade spans during the interim. School

districts that contained at least one such mismatch are flagged by note (3). Obviously, the loss of one or more school reports for a district may either over- or under-represent the extent of suspensions within that district. Again, we simply flag the districts that may be affected, and report to the reader the figures just as the districts reported them to OCR.

Appendix B

TABLE 1

Totals from the OCR Survey of Students Suspended at Least Once During the 1972-1973 School Year

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Total</u>
Elementary and Secondary Schools:						
October Enrollment:	15,163,546	6,553,104	2,153,923	141,720	176,388	24,188,681
Suspended at Least Once:	471,948	392,437	57,402	3,955	1,987	1,012,347
Average Length of Suspension:	3.55 days	4.46 days	3.53 days	3.60 days	3.13 days	4.01 days
Percent Suspended:	3.1%	6.0%	2.7%	2.8%	1.1%	4.2%
Elementary Schools:						
October Enrollment:	7,879,492	3,694,591	1,306,995	79,638	100,937	13,061,653
Suspended at Least Once:	36,994	55,053	5,763	470	201	119,071
Average Length of Suspension:	3.25 days	3.91 days	3.35 days	3.19 days	2.08 days	4.06 days
Percent Suspended:	0.5%	1.5%	0.4%	0.6%	0.2%	0.9%
Secondary Schools:						
October Enrollment:	7,284,054	2,858,513	846,928	62,082	75,451	11,127,028
Suspended at Least Once:	434,954	337,384	51,639	3,485	1,786	893,276
Average Length of Suspension:	3.57 days	4.55 days	3.55 days	3.65 days	3.25 days	4.01 days
Percent Suspended:	6.0%	11.8%	6.1%	5.6%	2.4%	8.0%

There were 2,862 districts reporting.

The number of districts reporting higher suspension rates for non-white students than their own white rates:

1,944	735	285	139	2,063
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There were 27,310 elementary schools, 10,691 of them suspending students.

There were 11,556 secondary schools, 9,927 of them suspending students.

There were 20,590 ethnically unidentified students suspended at the elementary level, with 1.16 days average length.

There were 64,028 ethnically unidentified students suspended at the secondary level, with 4.48 days average length.

Source: OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as filed by local school districts. See Appendix A for description of data and calculations.

Appendix B

TABLE 2

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73 BY STATE

STATE NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS						TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK ORDER OF STATE							
														T	W	B	S	I	A	
ALABAMA						ENROLL 767051	507051	259039	332	207	342									
						N SUSP 19948	9409	10501	4	7	1	26	N SUSP	17	17	15	43	30	39	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH 3.5 0	3.1 0	3.9 0	2.8 0	5.3 0	3.0 0		% SUSP	34	37	36	41	21	38	
66.1	33.7	0.0	0.0	0.0		% SUSP 2.6 %	1.9 %	4.1 %	1.2 %	2.4 %	0.3 %		EXCESS	17		12	20			
													% HIGH	25	30	16				
ALASKA						ENROLL 77007	60297	2389	491	13391	439									
						N SUSP 1981	1574	78	9	207	9	104	N SUSP	40	38	40	39	8*	23	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH 3.1 0	3.0 0	3.6 0	4.0 0	4.0 0	4.3 0		% SUSP	35	26	38	32	25	7*	
78.3	3.1	0.6	17.4	0.6		% SUSP 2.6 %	2.6 %	3.3 %	1.8 %	1.5 %	2.1 %		EXCESS	2*	40					
													% HIGH	2*	38					
ARIZONA						ENROLL 284265	181427	16087	71116	14145	1490									
						N SUSP 2733	1236	164	514	258	4	557	N SUSP	36	40	39	13	6*	30	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH 6.8 0	7.1 0	11.3 0	6.1 0	5.5 0	1.5 0		% SUSP	45	44	42	43	27	39	
63.8	5.7	25.0	5.0	0.5		% SUSP 1.0 %	0.7 %	1.0 %	0.7 %	1.8 %	0.3 %		EXCESS	33		39	13	2*		
													% HIGH	40		41	24	10		
ARKANSAS						ENROLL 268448	164836	102843	466	106	197									
						N SUSP 10338	3964	6361	6	1	5	1	N SUSP	24	28	20	41	41	28	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH 4.8 0	4.0 0	5.3 0	3.3 0	3.0 0	3.0 0		% SUSP	23	28	22	39	35	5*	
61.4	38.3	0.2	0.0	0.1		% SUSP 3.9 %	2.4 %	6.2 %	1.3 %	0.9 %	2.5 %		EXCESS	21		16			3*	
													% HIGH	10	19				3*	
CALIFORNIA						ENROLL 3545422	2336434	421009	672145	14629	101205									
						N SUSP 141768	87204	27040	25566	625	1333	0	N SUSP	1*	1*	3*	1*	1*	1*	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH 3.0 0	2.8 0	3.4 0	3.2 0	3.2 0	2.8 0		% SUSP	17	12	21	17	8*	15	
65.9	11.9	19.0	0.4	2.9		% SUSP 4.0 %	3.7 %	6.4 %	3.8 %	4.3 %	1.3 %		EXCESS	12		5*	5*	6*		
													% HIGH	41		25	23	17		
COLORADO						ENROLL 345998	257151	20914	64022	1553	2358									
						N SUSP 13333	6891	2787	3553	65	29	8	N SUSP	21	19	26	3*	14	8*	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH 3.1 0	2.8 0	3.5 0	3.2 0	3.1 0	2.0 0		% SUSP	22	24	2*	8*	9*	22	
74.3	6.0	18.5	0.4	0.7		% SUSP 5.9 %	2.7 %	13.3 %	5.5 %	4.2 %	1.2 %		EXCESS	20		24	1*	10		
													% HIGH	19		1*	7*	8*		
CONNECTICUT						ENROLL 204100	130147	53669	19666	132	486									
						N SUSP 14609	5081	5392	1457	4	4	2671	N SUSP	19	26	23	8*	36	31	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH 4.0 0	4.1 0	4.5 0	4.2 0	7.8 0	5.0 0		% SUSP	3*	9*	6*	5*	16	32	
63.8	26.3	9.6	0.1	0.2		% SUSP 7.2 %	3.9 %	10.0 %	7.4 %	3.0 %	0.8 %		EXCESS	16		19	4*			
													% HIGH	3*		8*	5*			
DELEWARE						ENROLL 66626	39978	25685	739	69	155									
						N SUSP 3940	2227	1879	32	0	2	0	N SUSP	32	33	30	32		34	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH 2.3 0	2.2 0	2.5 0	2.7 0	0.0 0	2.0 0		% SUSP	9*	3*	20	13		17	
60.0	38.6	1.1	0.1	0.2		% SUSP 5.9 %	5.6 %	6.5 %	4.3 %	0.0 %	1.3 %		EXCESS	40		36				
													% HIGH	36		37				
DIST OF COLUMBIA						ENROLL 140000	4928	133638	818	18	598									
						N SUSP 2657	13	2441	3	0	0	0	N SUSP	38	47	28	44			
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH 2.2 0	2.7 0	2.2 0	2.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		% SUSP	43	45	41	45			
3.5	95.5	0.6	0.0	0.4		% SUSP 1.9 %	0.3 %	2.0 %	0.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		EXCESS	26		23	25			
													% HIGH	7*		33	22			
IDAHO						ENROLL 1485121	1055925	344343	80099	2108	2646									
						N SUSP 76185	39621	34230	1631	28	29	646	N SUSP	2*	2*	2*	7*	24	9*	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH 5.9 0	5.3 0	6.6 0	6.0 0	5.3 0	4.7 0		% SUSP	13	11	7*	31	31	24	
71.1	23.2	5.4	0.1	0.2		% SUSP 5.1 %	3.8 %	9.9 %	2.0 %	1.3 %	1.1 %		EXCESS	3*		1*				
													% HIGH	13		7*				

GEORGIA					ENRCLL	1002887	635296	364313	1303	518	1177	156	A SUSP 11 *7* *7* 22 12 15					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	38725	17902	20449	103	97	18		% SUSP 21 23 27 *4* *2* 13					
63.4 36.3 0.1 0.1 0.1					LENGTH	5.2 0	4.6 0	5.7 0	3.6 0	4.0 0	5.6 0		EXCESS *9* *8* 11 *5*					
					% SUSP	3.9 %	2.2 %	5.6 %	7.4 %	18.7 %	1.5 %		% HIGH 22 24 *4* *2*					
IDAHO					ENRCLL	28078	24216	47	2839	758	218	0	N SUSP 42 37 30 25 35					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	1709	1633	2	50	22	2		% SUSP *8* *1* 34 19 28					
86.2 0.2 10.1 2.7 0.8					LENGTH	0.7 0	0.5 0	0.0 0	1.3 0	5.0 0	0.5 0		EXCESS *1*					
					% SUSP	6.1 %	6.7 %	0.0 %	1.8 %	2.9 %	0.9 %		% HIGH *1*					
ILLINOIS					ENRCLL	984889	491441	412334	73401	1924	5789	30127	N SUSP *5* 11 16 11 28 *4*					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	55004	14608	9573	627	17	52		% SUSP *10 21 39 42 39 29					
49.9 41.9 7.5 0.2 0.6					LENGTH	4.6 0	3.8 0	5.1 0	3.7 0	5.6 0	3.4 0		EXCESS *1*					
					% SUSP	5.6 %	3.0 %	2.3 %	0.9 %	0.9 %	0.9 %		% HIGH *4*					
INDIANA					ENRCLL	428957	308434	107857	11210	666	790	158	N SUSP 18 16 19 18 32 20					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	18612	9763	8425	250	6	10		% SUSP 16 19 13 27 38 20					
71.9 25.1 2.6 0.2 0.2					LENGTH	3.2 0	3.0 0	3.4 0	3.1 0	5.3 0	1.3 0		EXCESS 18 14					
					% SUSP	4.3 %	3.2 %	7.8 %	2.2 %	0.9 %	1.3 %		% HIGH 20 13					
IOWA					ENRCLL	115426	108892	8915	1046	373	200	0	N SUSP 34 34 34 33 37 40					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	2923	2129	760	29	1	1		% SUSP 37 36 *9* 24 34 35					
91.2 7.5 0.9 0.3 0.2					LENGTH	3.0 0	2.8 0	3.4 0	2.5 0	1.8 0	2.0 0		EXCESS 36 30 18					
					% SUSP	2.4 %	2.0 %	8.5 %	2.8 %	1.1 %	0.5 %		% HIGH 31 *5* 16					
KANSAS					ENRCLL	179624	142053	29157	6489	1222	703	0	N SUSP 27 24 25 16 16 16					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	9230	5440	3461	259	55	15		% SUSP 12 *10 *3* 16 *6* *6*					
79.1 16.2 3.6 0.7 0.4					LENGTH	4.9 0	4.7 0	5.2 0	4.0 0	4.0 0	7.5 0		EXCESS 25 22 17 14					
					% SUSP	5.1 %	3.8 %	11.9 %	4.0 %	4.5 %	2.1 %		% HIGH 16 *3* 20 15					
KENTUCKY					ENRCLL	288587	237305	50895	109	95	183	319	N SUSP 26 20 29 42 29					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	9746	6808	2609	5	0	5		% SUSP 28 22 29 *10 *4*					
82.2 17.6 0.0 0.0 0.1					LENGTH	2.3 0	2.1 0	2.7 0	2.2 0	0.0 0	3.4 0		EXCESS 27 28 23					
					% SUSP	3.4 %	2.9 %	5.1 %	4.6 %	0.0 %	2.7 %		% HIGH 30 29 11					
LOUISIANA					ENRCLL	849758	500096	344465	4323	386	466	194	N SUSP *3* *3* *1* 17 29 24					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	72792	32170	40156	254	9	9		% SUSP *2* *2* *4* *6* 23 *8*					
58.9 40.5 0.5 0.0 0.1					LENGTH	3.3 0	3.0 0	3.5 0	3.3 0	5.6 0	3.8 0		EXCESS *5* *2*					
					% SUSP	8.6 %	6.4 %	11.7 %	5.9 %	2.3 %	1.9 %		% HIGH *6* *10					
MARYLAND					ENRCLL	821718	584623	227801	4560	637	4097	2000	N SUSP 14 *5* 17 21 33 *6*					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	32030	20651	9239	104	6	30		% SUSP 20 13 35 26 36 33					
71.1 27.7 0.6 0.1 0.5					LENGTH	5.1 0	3.2 0	3.8 0	2.5 0	2.5 0	3.0 0		EXCESS 24 27					
					% SUSP	3.9 %	3.5 %	4.1 %	2.3 %	0.9 %	0.7 %		% HIGH 35 40					
MASSACHUSETTS					ENRCLL	231659	171024	45055	12746	159	2675	69	N SUSP 28 22 27 15 35 *10					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	9041	5910	2750	279	5	28		% SUSP 19 15 23 29 14 25					
73.8 19.4 5.5 0.1 1.2					LENGTH	3.7 0	3.2 0	4.5 0	5.1 0	3.2 0	2.1 0		EXCESS 30 26					
					% SUSP	3.9 %	3.5 %	6.1 %	2.2 %	3.1 %	1.0 %		% HIGH 32 26					
MICHIGAN					ENRCLL	675592	359558	295037	17542	1851	1604	1258	N SUSP 15 14 *10 *9* 15 13					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	31111	12274	16757	737	64	21		% SUSP 15 16 26 15 11 16					
53.2 43.7 2.6 0.3 0.2					LENGTH	4.4 0	4.4 0	4.1 0	5.9 0	3.9 0	2.0 0		EXCESS 14 11 *9* 21					
					% SUSP	4.6 %	3.4 %	5.7 %	4.2 %	3.5 %	1.3 %		% HIGH 18 28 17 21					
MINNESOTA					ENRCLL	117160	99778	9773	2268	4868	473	357	N SUSP 30 30 35 28 *7* 25					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	4300	2568	665	61	251	6		% SUSP 24 20 17 25 *5* 19					
85.2 8.3 1.9 4.2 0.4					LENGTH	2.4 0	2.5 0	2.8 0	2.2 0	2.9 0	1.5 0		EXCESS 32 33					
					% SUSP	3.7 %	3.0 %	6.8 %	7.7 %	5.2 %	1.3 %		% HIGH 27 18 *5*					

TABLE 2

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73 BY STATE

STATE NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS						TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK ORDER OF STATE							
														I	M	B	S	I	A	
MISSISSIPPI						ENROLL	508320	247136	260375	331	142	336		N SUSP	20	25	18	37	42	26
						N SUSP	14096	5156	8934	15	1	6	14	% SUSP	32	33	37	11	40	*10
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	4.0 D	3.5 D	4.2 D	3.3 D	7.0 D	3.0 D		EXCESS	22			17	19		
48.6	51.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	% SUSP	2.8 %	2.1 %	3.4 %	4.5 %	0.7 %	1.8 %		% HIGH	28			34	*9*		
MISSOURI						ENROLL	244008	204246	137534	821	669	733		N SUSP	23	21	22	24	26	18
						N SUSP	12348	6504	5730	92	21	14	1	% SUSP	26	18	34	*1*	15	*9*
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	8.5 D	5.0 D	12.3 D	6.6 D	2.0 D	15.1 D		EXCESS	28			25	*10		
57.4	40.6	0.2	0.2	0.2	% SUSP	3.6 %	3.2 %	4.2 %	11.9 %	3.1 %	1.9 %		% HIGH	33			36	*1*		
MONTANA						ENROLL	13666	11433	50	325	1190	68		N SUSP	47	46			34	
						N SUSP	29	23	0	0	6	0	0	% SUSP	46	46			41	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	1.7 D	1.5 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	2.3 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	45				16		
87.5	0.4	2.5	9.1	0.5	% SUSP	0.2 %	0.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.5 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	45				19		
NEBRASKA						ENROLL	68204	53454	12224	1501	425	200		N SUSP	45	44		34	38	
						N SUSP	66	37	0	25	4	0	0	% SUSP	47	47		38	37	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	45.8 D	43.2 D	0.0 D	49.0 D	49.5 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	43			15	17		
78.4	17.9	2.8	0.6	0.3	% SUSP	0.1 %	0.1 %	0.0 %	1.3 %	0.9 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	44			12	12		
NEVADA						ENROLL	116025	100003	11030	4086	2092	846		N SUSP	37	36	31	27	17	36
						N SUSP	2689	1634	884	68	51	2	0	% SUSP	39	40	12	35	22	40
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	3.8 D	3.6 D	4.1 D	3.6 D	3.1 D	1.0 D		EXCESS	35		29		11		
84.7	9.3	3.5	1.8	0.7	% SUSP	2.3 %	1.7 %	6.0 %	1.7 %	2.4 %	0.2 %		% HIGH	29		*6*		14		
NEW JERSEY						ENROLL	565913	288421	211706	67280	303	2203		N SUSP	13	12	11	*5*	31	12
						N SUSP	36554	14376	15618	2391	7	22	4140	% SUSP	*6*	*4*	15	19	24	26
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	4.3 D	3.6 D	4.7 D	6.0 D	4.3 D	3.3 D		EXCESS	13		13				
50.6	37.1	11.8	0.1	0.4	% SUSP	6.4 %	5.0 %	7.4 %	3.6 %	2.3 %	1.0 %		% HIGH	11		27				
NEW MEXICO						ENROLL	245763	125334	5807	93707	20324	591		N SUSP	29	31	38	*4*	*3*	
						N SUSP	5844	2497	243	2744	358	0	2	% SUSP	38	35	33	22	28	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	2.6 D	2.5 D	2.5 D	2.7 D	2.3 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	31		37	*2*			
51.0	2.4	36.1	8.3	0.2	% SUSP	2.4 %	2.0 %	4.2 %	2.9 %	1.8 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	34		31	14			
NEW YORK						ENROLL	1624950	751150	525310	518988	3378	22132		N SUSP	*7*	15	14	*6*	11	11
						N SUSP	43245	10891	10815	1786	113	24	19616	% SUSP	33	42	40	44	13	41
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	3.9 D	3.2 D	4.0 D	3.7 D	3.4 D	4.5 D		EXCESS	*4*		20		*7*		
46.2	32.6	15.6	0.2	1.4	% SUSP	2.7 %	1.4 %	2.0 %	0.6 %	3.3 %	0.1 %		% HIGH	17		39		*7*		
NORTH CAROLINA						ENROLL	1034324	678243	339661	1045	14033	1140		N SUSP	*8*	*8*	*5*	36	*5*	21
						N SUSP	40615	17365	22217	15	301	10	703	% SUSP	18	27	19	33	25	30
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	4.4 D	4.0 D	4.6 D	8.4 D	3.9 D	2.7 D		EXCESS	*7*		*4*				
65.6	32.9	0.1	1.4	0.1	% SUSP	3.9 %	2.6 %	6.5 %	4.8 %	2.1 %	0.9 %		% HIGH	15		15				
NORTH DAKOTA						ENROLL	2850	1701	0	2	1144	3		N SUSP	46	45			23	
						N SUSP	58	29	0	0	29	0	0	% SUSP	41	39			20	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	3.8 D	4.1 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	3.5 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	44				13		
59.7	0.0	0.1	40.1	0.1	% SUSP	2.0 %	1.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	2.5 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	37				13		
OHIO						ENROLL	802179	516015	271708	12099	803	1554		N SUSP	12	*9*	*5*	*10	19	14
						N SUSP	38566	17315	19911	678	35	20	607	% SUSP	14	17	16	*7*	*7*	18
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	5.3 D	4.6 D	6.1 D	4.1 D	6.9 D	4.1 D		EXCESS	*8*		*6*	*7*	15		
44.3	33.9	1.5	0.1	0.2	% SUSP	4.8 %	3.4 %	7.3 %	5.6 %	4.4 %	1.3 %		% HIGH	*9*		16	*10	11		

OKLAHOMA						ENRCLL	312822	241471	47438	4223	16702	963	12	N SUSP 25 27 24 25 *4* *7*					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	5886	5073	4324	90	257	30		* SUSP 29 32 *8* 30 26 *2*					
77.2 15.2 1.9 6.0 0.3						LENGTH	4.5 0	4.4 0	5.4 0	3.4 0	4.2 0	3.9 0		EXCESS 23 18 24 *2*					
						% SUSP	3.2 %	2.1 %	9.1 %	2.1 %	1.9 %	3.1 %		% HIGH 21 *4* 25 *1*					
OREGON						ENRCLL	79898	68568	7348	2056	707	1219	364	N SUSP 35 35 37 29 27 17					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	2820	1816	546	58	21	15		% SUSP 27 25 14 23 17 21					
85.8 9.2 2.6 0.9 1.5						LENGTH	2.5 0	2.5 0	3.5 0	3.0 0	2.9 0	2.7 0		EXCESS 34 34 21 19					
						% SUSP	3.5 %	2.6 %	7.4 %	2.8 %	3.0 %	1.2 %		% HIGH 23 12 19 10					
PENNSYLVANIA						ENRCLL	646509	373022	257698	15038	163	588	18440	N SUSP *6* 13 12 19 39 22					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	43842	13131	12014	245	2	10		% SUSP *5* 14 31 36 32 12					
57.7 39.9 2.3 0.0 0.1						LENGTH	3.5 0	3.4 0	3.6 0	6.0 0	4.5 0	7.5 0		EXCESS *2* 21					
						% SUSP	6.6 %	3.5 %	4.7 %	1.6 %	1.2 %	1.7 %		% HIGH *2* 35					
RHODE ISLAND						ENRCLL	29201	22766	5744	431	25	239	890	N SUSP 39 41 36 31 32					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	2558	1009	605	49	1	4		% SUSP *1* *6* *5* *2*					
78.0 19.7 1.5 0.1 0.8						LENGTH	2.2 0	2.7 0	3.4 0	2.0 0	0.0 0	1.5 0		EXCESS 25 35 12					
						% SUSP	8.8 %	4.4 %	10.5 %	11.4 %	0.0 %	1.7 %		% HIGH *1* *9* *2*					
SOUTH CAROLINA						ENRCLL	633622	369452	262557	595	486	532	0	N SUSP *10 *10 *6* 35 21 27					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	39214	17284	21866	25	33	6		% SUSP *7* *5* *10 14 *4* 23					
58.3 41.4 0.1 0.1 0.1						LENGTH	3.5 0	3.4 0	3.7 0	3.3 0	3.1 0	3.3 0		EXCESS 11 *9* 12					
						% SUSP	6.2 %	4.7 %	6.3 %	4.2 %	6.8 %	1.1 %		% HIGH *8* 21 *6*					
SOUTH DAKOTA						ENRCLL	24026	18913	358	195	4442	120	12	N SUSP 44 43 43 40 18 41					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	247	176	2	7	49	1		% SUSP 44 43 43 18 33 31					
78.7 1.5 0.8 18.5 0.5						LENGTH	3.5 0	2.8 0	42.0 0	2.7 0	5.2 0	2.0 0		EXCESS 42 20 16					
						% SUSP	1.0 %	0.9 %	0.6 %	3.6 %	1.1 %	0.8 %		% HIGH 43 *6* 20					
TENNESSEE						ENRCLL	574275	390797	182241	384	198	555	713	N SUSP 16 18 13 38 *2* 33					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	20880	8865	10900	12	380	4		% SUSP 25 30 24 21 *1* 34					
68.1 31.7 0.1 0.0 0.1						LENGTH	3.5 0	3.3 0	3.7 0	2.8 0	3.0 0	3.5 0		EXCESS 15 *10 22 *1*					
						% SUSP	3.6 %	2.3 %	6.0 %	5.1 %	100.0 %	0.7 %		% HIGH 14 20 15 *1*					
TEXAS						ENRCLL	2261253	1268046	411555	554883	2513	4256	8	N SUSP *4* *4* *4* *2* 20 *3*					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	63466	26725	24317	12324	35	57		% SUSP 31 34 25 28 30 14					
57.0 18.2 24.5 0.1 0.2						LENGTH	3.5 0	3.5 0	3.8 0	3.2 0	5.4 0	2.5 0		EXCESS *6* *3* *3*					
						% SUSP	2.8 %	2.1 %	5.9 %	2.7 %	1.4 %	1.3 %		% HIGH 26 17 21					
UTAH						ENRCLL	95654	84628	1160	6759	2437	630	0	N SUSP 41 39 41 14 13 37					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	1956	1486	77	317	72	2		% SUSP 40 38 18 *9* 16 37					
88.5 1.2 7.1 2.5 0.7						LENGTH	3.5 0	3.6 0	2.7 0	3.2 0	5.1 0	5.0 0		EXCESS 39 36 *8* *9*					
						% SUSP	2.0 %	1.8 %	6.6 %	4.7 %	3.0 %	0.3 %		% HIGH 38 11 *6* *9*					
VIRGINIA						ENRCLL	726453	474426	246766	2257	880	2124	0	N SUSP *9* *6* *8* 23 22 *2*					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	39365	16946	20186	101	30	102		% SUSP 11 *6* 11 12 12 *1*					
65.3 34.0 0.3 0.1 0.3						LENGTH	3.4 0	3.0 0	3.8 0	2.3 0	5.4 0	4.9 0		EXCESS *10 *7* 16 *1*					
						% SUSP	5.4 %	4.0 %	8.2 %	4.5 %	3.4 %	4.8 %		% HIGH 12 14 18 *2*					
WASHINGTON						ENRCLL	177717	140882	16992	9650	3910	6283	0	N SUSP 33 32 32 20 *10 *5*					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	3459	2342	797	135	154	31		% SUSP 42 41 30 27 *10 36					
79.3 9.6 5.4 2.2 3.5						LENGTH	2.6 0	3.0 0	1.1 0	5.0 0	2.3 0	2.0 0		EXCESS 37 21 *4*					
						% SUSP	1.9 %	1.7 %	4.7 %	1.4 %	3.9 %	0.5 %		% HIGH 39 33 *4*					
WEST VIRGINIA						ENRCLL	169926	155156	14302	161	99	208	7	N SUSP 31 29 33 45 38					
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						N SUSP	4265	3493	761	2	0	2		% SUSP 36 31 28 40 27					
91.3 8.4 0.1 0.1 0.1						LENGTH	3.5 0	3.5 0	3.5 0	1.5 0	0.0 0	3.0 0		EXCESS 38 32					
						% SUSP	2.5 %	2.3 %	5.3 %	1.2 %	0.0 %	1.0 %		% HIGH 42 22					

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TABLE 2

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73 BY STATE

STATE NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK ORDER OF STATE						
								1	2	3	4	5	6	7
WISCONSIN	ENROLL	187176	134814	43400	6250	2293	419							
	N SUSP	12759	5755	5973	592	156	12	2271						
	LENGTH	2.3 0	2.4 0	2.4 0	2.3 0	2.4 0	3.3 0							
	% SUSP	6.8 %	4.3 %	13.8 %	9.5 %	6.8 %	2.9 %							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN														
WYOMING	ENROLL	25462	21577	660	2601	467	157							
	N SUSP	779	494	28	88	2	0	167						
	LENGTH	2.9 0	3.3 0	4.5 0	3.4 0	3.0 0	0.0 0							
	% SUSP	3.1 %	2.3 %	4.2 %	3.4 %	0.4 %	0.0 %							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN														
N SUSP														
% SUSP														
EXCESS														
% HIGH														

Appendix B

TABLE 3

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT						
								1	2	3	4	5	6	7
AUBURN CITY	ENROLL	3164	1992	1163	5	0	4							
	N SUSP	405	112	293	0	0	0	0						
	LENGTH	1.7 0	1.7 0	1.7 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0							
	% SUSP	12.8 %	5.6 %	25.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %							
ALABAMA														
BULLOCK COUNTY	ENROLL	2741	69	2672	0	0	0							
	N SUSP	34	6	28	0	0	0	0						
	LENGTH	1.6 0	2.0 0	1.5 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0							
	% SUSP	1.2 %	8.7 %	1.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %							
FLORENCE CITY SCHOOLS	ENROLL	7413	5909	1503	0	0	1							
	N SUSP	283	61	222	0	0	0	0						
	LENGTH	2.7 0	2.8 0	2.7 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0							
	% SUSP	3.8 %	1.0 %	14.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %							
GTR ANCHORAGE BOROUGH SCH DIST	ENROLL	33843	30288	1052	36	2421	46							
	N SUSP	1166	1067	37	7	52	3	0						
	LENGTH	2.5 0	2.5 0	2.4 0	0.0 0	2.4 0	0.0 0							
	% SUSP	3.4 %	3.5 %	3.5 %	0.0 %	2.1 %	0.0 %							
KENAI PENINSULA BOROUGH SCHOOL	ENROLL	4839	4125	5	15	683	11							
	N SUSP	191	65	0	0	22	0	104						
	LENGTH	2.3 0	2.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.8 0	0.0 0							
	% SUSP	3.9 %	1.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	3.2 %	0.0 %							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN														
N SUSP														
% SUSP														
EXCESS														
% HIGH														

NORTH STAR BOROUGH				ENROLL	8557	7137	323	73	937	87			
ALASKA				N SUSP	337	250	32	1	51	3	0	N SUSP	13
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	4.9 0	4.9 0	4.9 0	6.0 0	4.8 0	5.7 0	0	% SUSP	
83.4 3.8 0.9 11.0 1.0				% SUSP	3.9 %	3.5 %	9.9 %	1.4 %	5.4 %	3.4 %		EXCESS	16
												% HIGH	
UNORGANIZED STATE SCHOOLS				ENROLL	17759	10538	945	246	5851	179			
ALASKA (3)				N SUSP	96	52	7	1	35	1	0	N SUSP	21
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	5.7 0	5.9 0	3.0 0	3.0 0	6.1 0	5.0 0	0	% SUSP	
59.3 5.3 1.4 32.9 1.0				% SUSP	0.5 %	0.5 %	0.7 %	0.4 %	0.6 %	0.6 %		EXCESS	
												% HIGH	
COOLIDGE HIGH 084				ENROLL	771	468	71	162	67	3			
ARIZONA (2)				N SUSP	51	33	9	2	7	0	0	N SUSP	19
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	3.0 0	3.0 0	3.0 0	3.0 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	0	% SUSP	
60.7 9.2 21.0 8.7 0.4				% SUSP	6.6 %	7.1 %	12.7 %	1.2 %	10.4 %	0.0 %		EXCESS	
												% HIGH	
FLAGSTAFF HIGH SCHOOL DIST ONE				ENROLL	2613	1618	108	465	402	20			
ARIZONA (2)				N SUSP	157	77	13	40	27	0	0	N SUSP	32
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	2.6 0	2.4 0	2.7 0	2.3 0	3.7 0	0.0 0	0	% SUSP	
61.9 4.1 17.8 15.4 0.8				% SUSP	6.0 %	4.8 %	12.0 %	8.6 %	6.7 %	0.0 %		EXCESS	
												% HIGH	
INDIAN OASIS #40				ENROLL	996	37	2	0	957	0			
ARIZONA				N SUSP	22	2	0	0	20	0	0	N SUSP	41
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	2.7 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.6 0	0.0 0	0	% SUSP	
3.7 0.2 0.0 96.1 0.0				% SUSP	2.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	2.1 %	0.0 %		EXCESS	
												% HIGH	
SAHUARITA HS DISTRICT 130				ENROLL	455	312	7	136	0	0			
ARIZONA (2)				N SUSP	23	23	0	0	0	0	0	N SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	3.3 0	3.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0	% SUSP	
68.6 1.5 29.9 0.0 0.0				% SUSP	5.1 %	7.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		EXCESS	
												% HIGH	
TUBA CITY HIGH 015				ENROLL	565	48	5	1	511	0			
ARIZONA (2)				N SUSP	30	4	1	0	25	0	0	N SUSP	34
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	3.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	3.2 0	0.0 0	0	% SUSP	
8.5 0.9 0.2 90.4 0.0				% SUSP	5.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	4.9 %	0.0 %		EXCESS	
												% HIGH	
WINDOW ROCK ELEM SCHOOL DIST				ENROLL	2585	243	0	4	2338	0			
ARIZONA (3)				N SUSP	125	11	0	0	114	0	0	N SUSP	*6*
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	3.0 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	0	% SUSP	
9.4 0.0 0.2 90.4 0.0				% SUSP	4.8 %	4.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	4.9 %	0.0 %		EXCESS	
												% HIGH	
EARLE SCHOOL DISTRICT				ENROLL	1409	373	1031	4	0	1			
ARKANSAS				N SUSP	212	31	181	0	0	0	0	N SUSP	49
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	7.3 0	8.1 0	7.1 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	3.0 0	0	% SUSP	
26.5 73.2 0.3 0.0 0.1				% SUSP	15.0 %	8.3 %	17.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		EXCESS	19
												% HIGH	
LITTLE ROCK				ENROLL	22348	11921	10362	28	25	12			
ARKANSAS (3)				N SUSP	1474	309	1165	0	0	0	0	N SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	6.3 0	5.5 0	6.6 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0	% SUSP	
53.3 46.4 0.1 0.1 0.1				% SUSP	6.6 %	2.6 %	11.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		EXCESS	41
												% HIGH	
A B C UNIFIED				ENROLL	22108	16438	360	4746	54	510			
CALIFORNIA				N SUSP	1444	1007	32	397	4	4	0	N SUSP	29
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	6.2 0	6.4 0	3.2 0	6.0 0	4.5 0	1.5 0	0	% SUSP	
74.4 1.6 21.5 0.2 2.3				% SUSP	6.5 %	6.1 %	8.9 %	8.4 %	7.4 %	0.8 %		EXCESS	32
												% HIGH	
ALHAMBRA CITY ELEM				ENROLL	17828	9852	61	5985	21	1909			
CALIFORNIA				N SUSP	661	300	0	354	0	7	0	N SUSP	38
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN				LENGTH	3.0 0	2.7 0	0.0 0	3.3 0	0.0 0	2.1 0	0	% SUSP	
55.3 0.3 33.6 0.1 10.7				% SUSP	3.7 %	3.0 %	0.0 %	5.9 %	0.0 %	0.4 %		EXCESS	16
												% HIGH	

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TABLE 3

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS										RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT					
										T	W	B	S	I	A
ANAHEIM UNION HIGH CALIFORNIA	(2) (3)	ENROLL	37340	33112	81	3433	.158	556		N SUSP	45	15		32	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	INO. ASIAN	N SUSP	3374	2965	8	384	2	15	0	% SUSP					
88.7 0.2 9.2	0.4 1.5	LENGTH	3.1 0	3.1 0	4.3 0	2.6 0	2.0 0	3.3 0		EXCESS				43	
		% SUSP	9.0 %	9.0 %	9.9 %	11.2 %	1.3 %	2.7 %		% HIGH					
ANTIOCH UNIFIED CALIFORNIA		ENROLL	8432	7114	10	1128	91	90		N SUSP					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	INO. ASIAN	N SUSP	297	263	1	33	0	0	0	% SUSP					
84.4 0.1 13.4	1.1 1.1	LENGTH	3.9 0	3.9 0	0.0 0	3.5 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS		31			
		% SUSP	3.5 %	3.7 %	0.0 %	2.9 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH					
AZUSA UNIFIED CALIFORNIA	(3)	ENROLL	12097	8290	69	3639	17	82		N SUSP					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	INO. ASIAN	N SUSP	414	302	3	107	0	2	0	% SUSP					
68.5 0.6 30.1	0.1 0.7	LENGTH	2.1 0	2.0 0	7.0 0	2.1 0	0.0 0	1.0 0		EXCESS		48			
		% SUSP	3.4 %	3.6 %	4.3 %	2.9 %	0.0 %	2.4 %		% HIGH					
BASSETT UNIFIED CALIFORNIA		ENROLL	8069	3441	522	4020	24	62		N SUSP				15	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	INO. ASIAN	N SUSP	1297	484	103	704	2	4	0	% SUSP	35	35		27	
42.6 6.5 49.8	0.3 0.8	LENGTH	1.4 0	1.2 0	2.0 0	1.4 0	0.0 0	1.0 0		EXCESS				24	
		% SUSP	16.1 %	14.1 %	19.7 %	17.5 %	0.0 %	6.5 %		% HIGH					
BELLFLOWER UNIFIED CALIFORNIA	(3)	ENROLL	11314	10148	25	985	24	132		N SUSP					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	INO. ASIAN	N SUSP	319	294	0	22	3	0	0	% SUSP					
89.7 0.2 8.7	0.2 1.2	LENGTH	2.8 0	2.8 0	0.0 0	2.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS		36			
		% SUSP	2.8 %	2.9 %	0.0 %	2.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH					
BURBANK UNIFIED CALIFORNIA		ENROLL	14154	12326	16	1670	29	113		N SUSP					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	INO. ASIAN	N SUSP	629	571	0	57	0	1	0	% SUSP					
87.1 0.1 11.8	0.2 0.8	LENGTH	1.4 0	1.4 0	0.0 0	1.2 0	0.0 0	1.0 0		EXCESS		15			
		% SUSP	4.4 %	4.6 %	0.0 %	3.4 %	0.0 %	0.9 %		% HIGH					
CALEXICO UNIFIED CALIFORNIA		ENROLL	4238	340	13	3822	1	62		N SUSP					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	INO. ASIAN	N SUSP	168	2	0	166	0	0	0	% SUSP					
8.0 0.3 90.2	0.0 1.5	LENGTH	2.3 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	2.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS				22	
		% SUSP	4.0 %	0.6 %	0.0 %	4.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH					
CENTINELLA VALLEY JUN CALIFORNIA	(2)	ENROLL	6857	5448	98	1130	29	152		N SUSP					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	INO. ASIAN	N SUSP	528	394	16	98	14	6	0	% SUSP					*4*
79.5 1.4 16.5	0.4 2.2	LENGTH	3.0 0	3.0 0	5.4 0	2.9 0	0.4 0	1.2 0		EXCESS				35*	
		% SUSP	7.7 %	7.2 %	16.3 %	8.7 %	48.3 %	3.9 %		% HIGH				33*	
CENTRAL UNION HIGH CALIFORNIA	(2)	ENROLL	1290	754	25	459	14	38		N SUSP					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	INO. ASIAN	N SUSP	340	188	12	138	2	0	0	% SUSP	*9*	*8*	*4*	*6*	
58.4 1.9 35.6	1.1 2.9	LENGTH	1.9 0	2.0 0	1.3 0	1.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS					
		% SUSP	26.4 %	24.9 %	48.0 %	30.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH			13	50	
CHAFFEY UNION HIGH CALIFORNIA	(2)	ENROLL	11602	9764	135	1646	14	43		N SUSP					
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	INO. ASIAN	N SUSP	741	548	16	176	0	1	0	% SUSP					
84.2 1.2 14.2	0.1 0.4	LENGTH	2.6 0	2.5 0	3.2 0	2.7 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS				40	
		% SUSP	6.4 %	5.6 %	11.9 %	10.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH					

CLOVIS UNIFIED		ENROLL	9365	7179	135	1845	99	107		N SUSP	20
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	750	507	19	187	36	1	0	% SUSP	*5*
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	2.2 0	1.9 0	2.4 0	2.9 0	1.9 0	1.0 0		EXCESS	*9*
76.7 1.4 19.7 1.1 1.1		% SUSP	8.0 %	7.1 %	14.1 %	10.1 %	36.4 %	0.9 %		% HIGH	*4*
COALINGA JOINT UNIF		ENROLL	2591	1672	12	898	11	8		N SUSP	
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	158	126	1	31	0	0	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	2.2 0	2.1 0	0.0 0	2.9 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS	42
64.5 0.5 34.7 0.0 0.3		% SUSP	6.1 %	7.5 %	0.0 %	3.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	
COMPTON UNIF		ENROLL	37461	823	32612	3878	60	88		N SUSP	28
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	2481	10	2399	72	0	0	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	3.5 0	3.7 0	3.5 0	3.4 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS	22 16
2.2 87.1 10.4 0.2 0.2		% SUSP	6.6 %	1.2 %	7.4 %	1.9 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	31
CORONA-NORCO UNIFIED		ENROLL	15952	12074	49	3749	24	56		N SUSP	
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	857	649	11	194	2	1	0	% SUSP	49
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	3.1 0	3.2 0	5.2 0	2.7 0	0.0 0	1.0 0		EXCESS	
75.7 0.3 23.5 0.2 0.4		% SUSP	5.4 %	5.4 %	22.4 %	5.2 %	0.0 %	1.8 %		% HIGH	31
COVINA-VALLEY UNIFIED		ENROLL	15828	13904	76	1611	66	171		N SUSP	
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	1256	1113	5	133	0	5	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	1.6 0	1.6 0	3.2 0	1.5 0	0.0 0	2.8 0		EXCESS	32
87.8 0.5 10.2 0.4 1.1		% SUSP	7.9 %	8.0 %	6.6 %	8.3 %	0.0 %	2.9 %		% HIGH	
CULVER CITY UNIFIED		ENROLL	4584	5065	82	950	13	474		N SUSP	
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	297	258	5	32	0	2	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	3.0 0	2.9 0	3.2 0	3.1 0	0.0 0	2.5 0		EXCESS	19
76.9 1.2 14.4 0.2 7.2		% SUSP	4.5 %	5.1 %	6.1 %	3.4 %	0.0 %	0.4 %		% HIGH	
DAVIS JOINT UNIFIED		ENROLL	5527	4912	90	329	13	183		N SUSP	
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	79	79	0	0	0	0	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	2.7 0	2.7 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS	33
88.9 1.6 6.0 0.2 3.3		% SUSP	1.4 %	1.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	
DELNORTE COUNTY UNI		ENROLL	3938	3471	19	95	341	12		N SUSP	18
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	240	195	1	5	39	0	0	% SUSP	12
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	4.6 0	4.6 0	0.0 0	2.4 0	4.5 0	0.0 0		EXCESS	12
88.1 0.5 2.4 8.7 0.3		% SUSP	6.1 %	5.6 %	0.0 %	5.2 %	11.4 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	21
DELANO JOINT UNION H		ENROLL	1868	682	110	910	10	156		N SUSP	14
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	261	71	37	126	2	25	0	% SUSP	17 42 *7*
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	4.3 0	3.9 0	4.8 0	4.5 0	0.0 0	3.8 0		EXCESS	
36.5 5.9 48.7 0.5 8.4		% SUSP	14.0 %	10.4 %	33.6 %	13.8 %	0.0 %	16.0 %		% HIGH	12 *6*
EAST SIDE UNION HIGH		ENROLL	15916	9166	1124	5242	49	335		N SUSP	*6*
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	2453	1104	339	985	10	15	0	% SUSP	44 23 23 *8*
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	7.8 0	7.5 0	8.2 0	8.0 0	6.0 0	4.7 0		EXCESS	*10
57.6 7.1 32.9 0.3 2.1		% SUSP	15.4 %	12.0 %	30.2 %	18.8 %	20.4 %	4.5 %		% HIGH	25 33 11
EL MONTE UNION HIGH		ENROLL	7352	4278	4	2985	12	73		N SUSP	37
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	813	445	0	367	0	1	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	3.1 0	3.1 0	0.0 0	3.1 0	0.0 0	1.0 0		EXCESS	
58.2 0.1 40.6 0.2 1.0		% SUSP	11.1 %	10.4 %	0.0 %	12.3 %	0.0 %	1.4 %		% HIGH	
EL RANCHO UNIFIED		ENROLL	13563	3640	2	9834	10	77		N SUSP	27
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	572	152	0	415	0	5	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.		LENGTH	1.9 0	1.4 0	0.0 0	2.1 0	0.0 0	2.0 0		EXCESS	
26.8 0.0 72.5 0.1 0.6		% SUSP	4.2 %	4.2 %	0.0 %	4.2 %	0.0 %	6.5 %		% HIGH	

TABLE 3

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73 BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS		TOTAL WHITE BLACK SPANISH INDIAN ASIAN UNKNOWN							RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT					
									T	W	B	S	I	A
ELK GROVE UNIFIED		ENROLL	10395	8746	259	1032	90	268						
CALIFORNIA	(3)	N SUSP	489	432	15	36	3	3						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.4 0	2.3 0	3.7 0	3.6 0	1.3 0	2.3 0						
84.1 2.5 9.9	0.9 2.6	% SUSP	4.7 %	4.9 %	5.8 %	3.5 %	3.3 %	1.1 %						
ESCONDIDO UNION SCHOOL DIST.		ENROLL	9259	7844	20	1184	144	67						
CALIFORNIA	(3)	N SUSP	184	143	2	23	16	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.5 0	2.4 0	0.0 0	2.9 0	2.1 0	0.0 0						
84.7 0.2 12.8	1.6 0.7	% SUSP	2.0 %	1.8 %	0.0 %	1.9 %	11.1 %	0.0 %						
ESCONDIDO UNION HIGH		ENROLL	5421	4752	11	584	59	15						
CALIFORNIA	(2)	N SUSP	642	571	2	64	5	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.8 0	2.7 0	0.0 0	2.8 0	2.6 0	0.0 0						
87.7 0.2 10.8	1.1 0.3	% SUSP	11.8 %	12.0 %	0.0 %	11.0 %	8.5 %	0.0 %						
FOLSOM-CORDOVA UNIF		ENROLL	12026	10633	722	397	96	178						
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	535	503	18	14	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.5 0	2.5 0	2.2 0	2.9 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
88.4 6.0 3.3	0.8 1.5	% SUSP	4.4 %	4.7 %	2.5 %	3.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
FREMONT UNIFIED		ENROLL	32857	28983	251	3094	93	436						
CALIFORNIA	(3)	N SUSP	2100	1749	9	333	2	7						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	3.1 0	3.0 0	1.4 0	3.4 0	4.0 0	5.6 0						
88.2 0.8 9.4	0.3 1.3	% SUSP	6.4 %	6.0 %	3.6 %	10.8 %	2.2 %	1.6 %						
FRESNO CITY UNIFIED		ENROLL	54990	37665	5137	11268	69	851						
CALIFORNIA	(3)	N SUSP	2615	1629	423	549	1	13						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.7 0	2.8 0	2.5 0	2.4 0	3.0 0	3.5 0						
68.5 9.3 20.5	0.1 1.5	% SUSP	4.8 %	4.3 %	8.2 %	4.9 %	1.4 %	1.5 %						
GALT JT UNION ELEMEN		ENROLL	1277	1102	3	166	2	4						
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	78	75	1	2	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	3.2 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	10.5 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
86.3 0.2 13.0	0.2 0.3	% SUSP	6.1 %	6.8 %	0.0 %	1.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
GARDEN GROVE UNIFIED		ENROLL	51382	43994	206	6239	142	801						
CALIFORNIA	(3)	N SUSP	2451	2017	11	401	6	16						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	3.3 0	3.2 0	2.1 0	3.5 0	3.0 0	2.6 0						
85.6 0.4 12.1	0.3 1.6	% SUSP	4.8 %	4.6 %	5.3 %	6.4 %	4.2 %	2.0 %						
GLENDALE UNIFIED		ENROLL	23762	20792	6	2575	64	325						
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	704	644	0	53	6	1						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	1.4 0	1.2 0	0.0 0	3.5 0	6.5 0	2.0 0						
87.5 0.0 10.8	0.3 1.4	% SUSP	3.0 %	3.1 %	0.0 %	2.1 %	9.4 %	0.3 %						
GRIDLEY UNION HIGH		ENROLL	631	532	3	84	3	9						
CALIFORNIA	(2) (3)	N SUSP	258	236	0	21	0	1						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	0.8 0	0.6 0	0.0 0	2.1 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
84.3 0.5 13.3	0.5 1.4	% SUSP	40.9 %	44.4 %	0.0 %	25.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
HACIENDA-LA PUENTE UNIFIED		ENROLL	30439	19691	832	9484	70	362						
CALIFORNIA	(3)	N SUSP	1442	886	104	433	1	18						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	1.7 0	1.5 0	1.5 0	2.0 0	7.0 0	1.8 0						
64.7 2.7 31.2	0.2 1.2	% SUSP	4.7 %	4.5 %	12.5 %	4.6 %	1.4 %	5.0 %						

HAYWARD UNIFIED		ENROLL	25139	17759	1467	4961	210	742		N SUSP				
CALIFORNIA	(3)	N SUSP	1258	991	66	193	3	5	0	% SUSP				
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.4 0	1.9 0	2.9 0	4.4 0	6.0 0	2.2 0		EXCESS		*6*		
70.6 5.8 19.7	0.8 3.0	% SUSP	5.0 %	5.6 %	4.5 %	3.9 %	1.4 %	0.7 %		% HIGH				
HEALDSBURG UNION HIGH		ENROLL	1674	1252	15	382	19	6		N SUSP				
CALIFORNIA	(2)	N SUSP	324	224	7	85	8	0	0	% SUSP	26	20	16	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	5.7 0	6.1 0	0.0 0	4.5 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS				
74.8 0.9 22.8	1.1 0.4	% SUSP	19.4 %	17.9 %	0.0 %	22.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH				
HUGHSON UNION HIGH		ENROLL	506	451	0	51	0	4		N SUSP				
CALIFORNIA	(2)	N SUSP	125	121	0	4	0	0	0	% SUSP	14	*4*		
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.0 0	2.0 0	0.0 0	3.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS		27		
89.1 0.0 10.1	0.0 0.8	% SUSP	24.7 %	26.8 %	0.0 %	7.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		*3*		
INGLEWOOD UNIFIED		ENROLL	12533	5188	5809	1163	67	306		N SUSP				
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	1685	387	1163	122	4	9	0	% SUSP				
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.5 0	1.9 0	2.7 0	2.4 0	1.3 0	1.7 0		EXCESS				
41.4 46.3 9.3	0.5 2.4	% SUSP	13.4 %	7.5 %	20.0 %	10.5 %	6.0 %	2.9 %		% HIGH	23			
JEFFERSON UNION HIGH		ENROLL	7837	5903	572	947	81	334		N SUSP				*5*
CALIFORNIA	(2)	N SUSP	1526	1149	147	168	3	59	0	% SUSP	25	15	33	26
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.3 0	2.3 0	2.3 0	2.9 0	2.0 0	2.3 0		EXCESS				*6*
75.3 7.3 12.1	1.0 4.3	% SUSP	19.5 %	19.5 %	25.7 %	17.7 %	3.7 %	17.7 %		% HIGH				
JURUPA UNIFIED		ENROLL	8877	6498	953	1350	41	35		N SUSP				
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	998	595	203	196	4	0	0	% SUSP				36
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	3.0 0	3.1 0	3.0 0	2.6 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS				45
73.2 10.7 15.2	0.5 0.4	% SUSP	11.2 %	9.2 %	21.3 %	14.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH				47
KERMAN UNION HIGH		ENROLL	698	460	1	228	0	9		N SUSP				
CALIFORNIA	(2)	N SUSP	110	59	1	48	0	2	0	% SUSP	40	45	18	
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.3 0	2.4 0	0.0 0	2.2 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS				
65.9 0.1 32.7	0.0 1.3	% SUSP	15.8 %	12.8 %	0.0 %	21.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH				25
KERN COUNTY JOINT UNION HIGH		ENROLL	19715	14728	1462	3345	72	108		N SUSP				
CALIFORNIA	(2) (3)	N SUSP	2989	2185	412	387	5	0	0	% SUSP	45	25	31	29
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.8 0	2.4 0	4.6 0	2.9 0	5.4 0	0.0 0		EXCESS				
74.7 7.4 17.0	0.4 0.5	% SUSP	15.2 %	14.8 %	28.2 %	11.6 %	6.9 %	0.0 %		% HIGH				
KING CITY JOINT UNION HIGH		ENROLL	956	598	2	356	0	0		N SUSP				
CALIFORNIA	(2)	N SUSP	61	21	0	40	0	0	0	% SUSP				
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	2.8 0	3.3 0	0.0 0	2.6 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS				
62.6 0.2 37.2	0.0 0.0	% SUSP	6.4 %	3.5 %	0.0 %	11.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH				27
KLAMATH TRINITY UNIFIED		ENROLL	1321	769	1	25	522	4		N SUSP				25
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	54	20	0	1	32	1	0	% SUSP				
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	4.0 0	3.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	4.2 0	0.0 0		EXCESS				14
58.2 0.1 1.9	39.5 0.3	% SUSP	4.1 %	2.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	6.1 %	0.0 %		% HIGH				
LAGUNA SALADA UNION		ENROLL	8355	6827	256	990	61	221		N SUSP				
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	287	201	28	43	5	10	0	% SUSP				
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	1.9 0	1.6 0	2.3 0	2.3 0	2.4 0	2.1 0		EXCESS				
81.7 3.1 11.8	0.7 2.6	% SUSP	3.4 %	2.9 %	10.9 %	4.3 %	8.2 %	4.5 %		% HIGH				27
LAKEPORT UNIFIED		ENROLL	1190	1062	0	67	59	2		N SUSP				
CALIFORNIA		N SUSP	51	40	0	4	7	0	0	% SUSP				11
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND. ASIAN	LENGTH	3.9 0	4.0 0	0.0 0	3.0 0	3.7 0	0.0 0		EXCESS				
89.2 0.0 5.6	5.0 0.2	% SUSP	4.3 %	3.8 %	0.0 %	6.0 %	11.9 %	0.0 %		% HIGH				12

TABLE 3

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT



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Appendix B

TABLE 3
SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS						TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT					
													T	W	B	S	I	A
PALMDALE ELEMENTARY						ENROLL	3945	3511	113	269	20	32						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	130	123	7	6	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	1.0 0	1.0 0	2.0 0	1.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
89.0 2.9 6.8 0.5 0.8						% SUSP	3.3 %	3.5 %	0.9 %	2.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
													N SUSP					
													% SUSP					
													EXCESS					45
													% HIGH					
PASADENA CITY UNIFIE						ENROLL	26225	12523	10036	2879	57	730						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	1927	473	1221	220	0	13						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.6 0	3.6 0	5.1 0	3.8 0	0.0 0	3.2 0						
47.8 38.3 11.0 0.2 2.8						% SUSP	7.3 %	3.8 %	12.2 %	7.6 %	0.0 %	1.8 %						46 31
													N SUSP					
													% SUSP					
													EXCESS					
													% HIGH					
PITTSBURG UNIFIED						ENROLL	6240	2994	1833	1228	20	165						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	1129	491	400	214	3	21						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.8 0	2.0 0	4.2 0	2.4 0	0.0 0	2.0 0						
48.0 29.4 19.7 0.3 2.6						% SUSP	18.1 %	16.4 %	21.8 %	17.4 %	0.0 %	12.7 %						17
													N SUSP					*8*
													% SUSP					
													EXCESS					
													% HIGH					
POMONA UNIFIED						ENROLL	21106	11716	5018	4211	33	128						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	1625	528	769	326	0	2						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.9 0	4.6 0	5.4 0	4.3 0	0.0 0	4.5 0						
55.5 23.8 20.0 0.2 0.6						% SUSP	7.7 %	4.5 %	15.3 %	7.7 %	0.0 %	1.6 %						42
													N SUSP					
													% SUSP					
													EXCESS					25
													% HIGH					
PORTERVILLE UNION HI						ENROLL	3240	2402	8	747	33	50						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	516	385	1	119	7	4						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	1.9 0	1.9 0	0.0 0	2.2 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
74.1 0.2 23.1 1.0 1.5						% SUSP	15.9 %	16.0 %	0.0 %	15.9 %	0.0 %	8.0 %						
													N SUSP					
													% SUSP					
													EXCESS					34
													% HIGH					
RICHMOND UNIFIED						ENROLL	39552	24021	12106	2483	51	1291						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	6647	3097	3011	472	16	51						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.5 0	3.6 0	1.5 0	3.5 0	6.2 0	3.8 0						
60.1 30.3 6.2 0.1 3.2						% SUSP	16.6 %	12.9 %	24.9 %	19.0 %	31.4 %	4.0 %						
													N SUSP					21 12 18 23
													% SUSP					*9*
													EXCESS					32 44 35 21 *6*
													% HIGH					35 27 20 39 *6*
ROSEVILLE JT UNION H						ENROLL	2747	2392	39	283	9	24						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	639	529	17	90	0	3						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.0 0	2.0 0	1.9 0	2.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
87.1 1.4 10.3 0.3 0.9						% SUSP	23.3 %	22.1 %	43.6 %	31.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
													N SUSP					
													% SUSP					
													EXCESS					17 12 *6* *4*
													% HIGH					15 15
ROWLAND UNIF						ENROLL	15150	10003	402	4588	27	130						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	725	503	42	178	0	2						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.7 0	2.3 0	5.3 0	3.2 0	0.0 0	3.0 0						
66.0 2.7 30.3 0.2 0.9						% SUSP	4.8 %	5.0 %	10.4 %	3.9 %	0.0 %	1.5 %						
													N SUSP					
													% SUSP					
													EXCESS					38
													% HIGH					
SACRAMENTO CITY UNIF						ENROLL	48774	30247	8201	6242	64	4020						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	3155	1416	1099	564	8	68						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.0 0	2.7 0	3.5 0	2.9 0	2.6 0	3.0 0						
62.0 16.8 12.8 0.1 8.2						% SUSP	6.5 %	4.7 %	13.4 %	9.0 %	12.5 %	1.7 %						
													N SUSP					48
													% SUSP					17 *10
													EXCESS					11
													% HIGH					13
SALINAS UNION HIGH						ENROLL	9107	6209	138	2429	21	310						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	759	493	18	224	0	24						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.4 0	2.2 0	1.7 0	2.6 0	0.0 0	3.4 0						
68.2 1.5 26.7 0.2 3.4						% SUSP	8.3 %	7.9 %	13.0 %	9.2 %	0.0 %	7.7 %						16

SAN DIEGO CITY UNIFI						ENROLL	124487	91725	16492	14052	220	1998		N SUSP	24	13	31	*10	36	*7*
CALIFORNIA (3)						N SUSP	6261	3039	2254	891	24	53	0	% SUSP					15	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.6 0	3.4 0	3.8 0	3.9 0	3.0 0	3.4 0		EXCESS	21		19	*5*	17	
73.7 30.2 11.3 0.2 1.6						% SUSP	5.0 %	3.3 %	13.7 %	6.3 %	10.9 %	2.7 %		% HIGH					14	
SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIE						ENROLL	81970	26067	25055	11511	249	19088		N SUSP	46		33	35		*1*
CALIFORNIA (3)						N SUSP	3338	678	2076	369	16	199	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.3 0	2.4 0	2.3 0	2.4 0	2.0 0	2.7 0		EXCESS	44		29	47		
31.8 30.6 14.0 0.3 23.3						% SUSP	4.1 %	2.6 %	8.3 %	3.2 %	6.4 %	1.0 %		% HIGH						
SAN JOSE CITY UNIFIE						ENROLL	37146	26288	513	9432	80	833		N SUSP					34	
CALIFORNIA (3)						N SUSP	997	593	26	372	2	4	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.5 0	2.2 0	4.5 0	2.8 0	1.0 0	2.0 0		EXCESS					18	
70.8 1.4 25.4 0.2 2.2						% SUSP	2.7 %	2.3 %	5.1 %	3.9 %	2.5 %	0.5 %		% HIGH						
SAN JUAN UNIFIED						ENROLL	53116	50522	300	1501	318	475		N SUSP						
CALIFORNIA (3)						N SUSP	1366	1329	4	32	0	1	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.6 0	2.6 0	2.8 0	2.2 0	0.0 0	3.0 0		EXCESS						
95.1 0.6 2.8 0.6 0.9						% SUSP	2.6 %	2.6 %	1.3 %	2.1 %	0.0 %	0.2 %		% HIGH						
SAN LEANDRO UNIFIED						ENROLL	8780	7194	46	1230	34	276		N SUSP						
CALIFORNIA (3)						N SUSP	427	364	1	57	0	5	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.6 0	3.6 0	0.0 0	3.5 0	0.0 0	2.4 0		EXCESS						
81.9 0.5 14.0 0.4 3.1						% SUSP	4.9 %	5.1 %	0.0 %	4.6 %	0.0 %	1.8 %		% HIGH						
SAN MATEO UNION HIGH						ENROLL	11693	10352	245	541	23	532		N SUSP						
CALIFORNIA (2)						N SUSP	431	353	44	28	1	5	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.8 0	2.6 0	4.0 0	3.5 0	0.0 0	2.2 0		EXCESS						
88.5 2.1 4.6 0.2 4.5						% SUSP	3.7 %	3.4 %	19.0 %	5.2 %	0.0 %	0.9 %		% HIGH						
SANTA ANA UNIFIED						ENROLL	27014	14223	2468	9979	69	275		N SUSP						
CALIFORNIA (3)						N SUSP	754	305	108	341	0	0	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.4 0	1.7 0	3.9 0	2.5 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		EXCESS						
52.7 9.1 36.9 0.3 1.0						% SUSP	2.8 %	2.1 %	4.4 %	3.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH						
SANTA CLARA UNIFIED						ENROLL	22756	18208	212	3591	68	677		N SUSP						
CALIFORNIA (3)						N SUSP	1014	834	9	163	5	3	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.2 0	3.0 0	0.9 0	4.5 0	3.4 0	2.0 0		EXCESS						
80.0 0.9 15.8 0.3 3.0						% SUSP	4.5 %	4.6 %	4.2 %	4.5 %	7.4 %	0.4 %		% HIGH						
SANTA CRUZ CITY ELEM						ENROLL	8318	7466	172	543	28	109		N SUSP						
CALIFORNIA (3)						N SUSP	1306	1202	39	62	0	3	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	1.2 0	1.1 0	2.4 0	2.9 0	0.0 0	1.0 0		EXCESS						
89.8 2.1 6.5 0.3 3.3						% SUSP	15.7 %	16.1 %	22.7 %	11.4 %	0.0 %	2.8 %		% HIGH						
SANTA ROSA CITY ELEM						ENROLL	13725	12338	291	804	196	96		N SUSP						
CALIFORNIA (3)						N SUSP	1338	1186	39	78	32	3	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	5.0 0	5.1 0	4.2 0	4.8 0	4.5 0	2.0 0		EXCESS						
89.9 2.1 5.9 1.4 0.7						% SUSP	9.7 %	9.6 %	13.4 %	9.7 %	16.3 %	3.1 %		% HIGH						
SEQUOIA UNION HIGH						ENROLL	11738	9098	1734	665	47	194		N SUSP						
CALIFORNIA (2)						N SUSP	857	441	363	40	7	6	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.4 0	2.5 0	4.5 0	2.6 0	0.0 0	3.5 0		EXCESS						
77.5 14.8 5.7 0.4 1.7						% SUSP	7.3 %	4.8 %	20.9 %	6.0 %	0.0 %	3.1 %		% HIGH						
SOUTH SAN FRANCISCO						ENROLL	13358	10313	306	2132	38	569		N SUSP						
CALIFORNIA (3)						N SUSP	867	690	40	116	3	18	0	% SUSP						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.1 0	3.1 0	3.0 0	3.1 0	0.0 0	3.4 0		EXCESS						
77.2 2.3 16.0 0.3 4.3						% SUSP	6.5 %	6.7 %	13.1 %	5.4 %	0.0 %	3.2 %		% HIGH						

TABLE 3

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73 BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS						TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT					
													T	W	B	S	I	A
STOCKTON CITY UNIFIED						ENROLL	31406	17970	4757	7524	86	1069						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	1371	551	494	321	1	4					44	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.4 0	4.2 0	4.6 0	4.5 0	3.0 0	2.5 0	0					
57.2 15.1 24.0 0.3 3.4						% SUSP	4.4 %	3.1 %	10.4 %	4.3 %	1.2 %	0.4 %					36	
SWEETWATER UNION HIGH						ENROLL	22254	15888	338	5594	72	362						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	3099	1995	109	947	5	43						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.8 0	3.8 0	3.5 0	3.8 0	5.2 0	5.0 0	0				*8*	*10
71.4 1.5 25.1 0.3 1.6						% SUSP	13.9 %	12.6 %	32.2 %	16.9 %	6.9 %	11.9 %				12		*9*
TORRANCE UNIFIED						ENROLL	31433	27752	57	1852	62	1710						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	1108	997	0	97	0	14						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.4 0	2.3 0	0.0 0	3.5 0	0.0 0	3.5 0	0					
88.3 0.2 5.9 0.2 5.4						% SUSP	3.5 %	3.6 %	0.0 %	5.2 %	0.0 %	0.8 %						
TULARE UNION HIGH						ENROLL	2813	1944	196	660	3	10						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	350	217	57	76	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.5 0	4.5 0	5.2 0	4.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0					
69.1 7.0 23.5 0.1 0.4						% SUSP	12.4 %	11.2 %	29.1 %	11.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
TURLOCK JOINT UNION						ENROLL	2062	1793	5	222	28	14						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	264	234	0	28	0	2						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.7 0	3.8 0	0.0 0	3.6 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0					
87.0 0.2 10.8 1.4 0.7						% SUSP	12.8 %	13.1 %	0.0 %	12.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
UKIAH UNIFIED						ENROLL	6106	5487	87	247	245	40						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	289	213	8	41	26	1						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	1.9 0	2.2 0	2.1 0	0.4 0	1.7 0	0.0 0	0					
89.9 1.4 4.0 4.0 0.7						% SUSP	4.7 %	3.9 %	9.2 %	16.6 %	10.6 %	0.0 %						
ETNA UNION ELEM						ENROLL	15481	9361	4147	733	48	1192						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	1426	662	671	62	2	29						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.1 0	3.0 0	3.3 0	2.6 0	0.0 0	3.5 0						
60.5 26.8 4.7 0.3 7.7						% SUSP	9.2 %	7.1 %	16.2 %	8.5 %	0.0 %	2.4 %						
WALNUT VALLEY UNIF						ENROLL	5014	4484	26	461	4	39						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	257	238	2	16	0	1						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.9 0	3.8 0	0.0 0	5.6 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
89.4 0.5 9.2 0.1 0.8						% SUSP	5.1 %	5.3 %	0.0 %	3.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
WASCO UNION HIGH						ENROLL	859	558	93	205	1	2						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	120	83	14	23	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.0 0	2.0 0	2.0 0	2.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
65.0 10.8 23.9 0.1 0.2						% SUSP	14.0 %	14.9 %	15.1 %	11.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
WASHINGTON UNIFIED						ENROLL	5449	3988	100	1195	65	101						
CALIFORNIA						N SUSP	340	268	9	61	2	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.4 0	4.2 0	12.0 0	4.1 0	3.0 0	0.0 0						
73.2 1.8 21.9 1.2 1.9						% SUSP	6.2 %	6.7 %	9.0 %	5.1 %	3.1 %	0.0 %						
IER UNION HIGH						ENROLL	14027	10311	9	3548	40	119						
ORNIA						N SUSP	1536	1057	0	479	0	0						
E BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	6.3 0	6.2 0	0.0 0	6.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
5 0.1 25.3 0.3 0.8						% SUSP	11.0 %	10.3 %	0.0 %	13.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						

TABLE 3
SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS						TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK UNDER OF DISTRICT				
													T	W	B	S	I A
D C PUBLIC SCHOOLS						ENROLL	140000	4928	133638	818	18	598					
DIST OF COLUMBIA						N SUSP	2657	13	2641	3	0	0	0				24
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.2 0	2.7 0	2.2 0	2.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
3.5 95.5 0.6 0.0 0.4						% SUSP	1.9 %	0.3 %	2.0 %	0.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
													N SUSP				24
													% SUSP				
													EXCESS	18			13
													% HIGH				
BREVARD COUNTY						ENROLL	62283	54718	6961	401	71	132					
FLORIDA						N SUSP	3413	2753	643	16	0	1	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.4 0	4.0 0	5.8 0	6.4 0	0.0 0	6.0 0					
87.9 11.2 0.6 0.1 0.2						% SUSP	5.5 %	5.0 %	9.2 %	4.0 %	0.0 %	0.8 %					
													N SUSP	42	17		
													% SUSP				
													EXCESS				
													% HIGH				
BROWARD COUNTY						ENROLL	128889	97249	29363	2001	111	165					
FLORIDA						N SUSP	4120	2025	2065	24	6	0	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	6.9 0	6.0 0	7.7 0	6.2 0	5.5 0	0.0 0					
75.5 22.8 1.6 0.1 0.1						% SUSP	3.2 %	2.1 %	7.0 %	1.2 %	5.4 %	0.0 %					
													N SUSP	31	30	34	
													% SUSP				
													EXCESS	37			26
													% HIGH				
DADE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS						ENROLL	241809	116939	63826	60210	236	598					
FLORIDA						N SUSP	6812	2237	3634	939	1	1	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	7.5 0	5.8 0	8.8 0	6.7 0	10.0 0	3.0 0					
48.4 26.4 24.9 0.1 0.2						% SUSP	2.8 %	1.9 %	5.7 %	1.6 %	0.4 %	0.2 %					
													N SUSP	20	24	15	*9*
													% SUSP				
													EXCESS	19			12
													% HIGH				
DUVAL COUNTY SCHOOL BOARD						ENROLL	113644	76544	37100	0	0	0					
FLORIDA						N SUSP	12644	6015	6628	0	0	1	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	6.0 0	5.7 0	6.2 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
67.4 32.6 0.0 0.0 0.0						% SUSP	11.1 %	7.9 %	17.9 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
													N SUSP	*4*	*3*	*3*	
													% SUSP				
													EXCESS	*8*		*2*	
													% HIGH				
ESCAMBIA COUNTY						ENROLL	47947	33988	13459	169	79	252					
FLORIDA						N SUSP	2389	999	1365	21	1	3	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	5.5 0	5.2 0	5.8 0	1.2 0	13.0 0	4.3 0					
70.9 28.1 0.4 0.2 0.5						% SUSP	5.0 %	2.9 %	10.1 %	12.4 %	1.3 %	1.2 %					
													N SUSP				49
													% SUSP				
													EXCESS	49		40	
													% HIGH				17
HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY						ENROLL	107540	80136	20367	6534	283	220					
FLORIDA						N SUSP	6930	3764	2850	307	5	4	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.5 0	4.1 0	4.7 0	3.3 0	6.8 0	3.8 0					
74.5 18.9 6.1 0.3 0.2						% SUSP	6.4 %	4.7 %	14.0 %	4.7 %	1.8 %	1.8 %					
													N SUSP	17	*8*	20	46
													% SUSP				
													EXCESS	24			17
													% HIGH				
ORANGE CO						ENROLL	86407	68831	16060	1102	209	205					
FLORIDA						N SUSP	3013	1820	1162	20	4	7	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	6.7 0	6.9 0	6.4 0	2.5 0	1.5 0	2.3 0					
79.7 18.6 1.3 0.2 0.2						% SUSP	3.5 %	2.6 %	7.2 %	1.8 %	1.9 %	3.4 %					
													N SUSP		36		
													% SUSP				
													EXCESS				
													% HIGH				
PALM BEACH COUNTY						ENROLL	67030	45080	19172	2731	12	35					
FLORIDA						N SUSP	2707	1029	1607	71	0	0	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	7.4 0	6.2 0	8.3 0	4.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
67.3 28.6 4.1 0.0 0.1						% SUSP	4.0 %	2.3 %	8.4 %	2.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
													N SUSP				45
													% SUSP				
													EXCESS	45			35
													% HIGH				
PINELLAS COUNTY						ENROLL	90182	75294	14313	334	150	91					
FLORIDA						N SUSP	7672	4901	2756	14	0	1	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INDO. ASIAN						LENGTH	5.2 0	5.1 0	5.4 0	5.6 0	0.0 0	1.0 0					
83.5 15.9 0.4 0.2 0.1						% SUSP	8.5 %	6.5 %	19.3 %	4.2 %	0.0 %	1.1 %					
													N SUSP	15	*5*		23
													% SUSP				
													EXCESS	25			18
													% HIGH				

POLK COUNTY						ENROLL	57006	43936	12510	418	101	41									
FLORIDA						N SUSP	3015	1761	1244	10	0	0									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
77.1 21.9 0.7 0.2 0.1						LENGTH	8.0 D	7.3 D	8.9 D	7.0	0.0 D	0.0 D									
						% SUSP	5.3 %	4.0 %	9.9 %	2.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %									
ST LUCIE COUNTY						ENROLL	11428	5870	5492	48	11	7									
FLORIDA						N SUSP	1488	405	1082	0	0	1									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
51.4 48.1 0.4 0.1 0.1						LENGTH	10.2 D	7.6 D	11.2 U	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D									
						% SUSP	13.0 %	6.9 %	19.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %									
ATLANTA CITY						ENROLL	96006	21683	73985	272	6	60									
GEORGIA						N SUSP	4236	872	3354	10	0	0									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
22.6 77.1 0.3 0.0 0.1						LENGTH	2.9 D	3.1 D	2.8 D	6.8 D	0.0 D	0.0 D									
						% SUSP	4.4 %	4.0 %	4.5 %	3.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %									
CHATHAM COUNTY						ENROLL	34998	16894	18012	39	7	46									
GEORGIA						N SUSP	4349	1499	2844	6	0	0									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
48.3 51.5 0.1 0.0 0.1						LENGTH	13.6 D	13.0 D	14.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D									
						% SUSP	12.4 %	8.9 %	15.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %									
CLAYTON COUNTY						ENROLL	29981	28457	1394	64	32	34									
GEORGIA						N SUSP	1948	1737	204	7	0	0									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
94.9 4.6 0.2 0.1 0.1						LENGTH	3.2 D	3.1 D	4.2 D	3.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D									
						% SUSP	6.5 %	6.1 %	14.6 %	10.9 %	0.0 %	0.0 %									
COLUMBIA COUNTY BOARD OF ED						ENROLL	6848	5256	1516	25	11	40									
GEORGIA						N SUSP	258	159	74	25	0	0									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
76.8 22.1 0.4 0.2 0.6						LENGTH	3.5 D	3.7 D	3.1 D	3.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D									
						% SUSP	3.8 %	3.0 %	4.9 %	100.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %									
DEKALB COUNTY						ENROLL	86963	78181	8412	186	27	157									
GEORGIA						N SUSP	2329	1610	712	4	0	3									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
89.9 9.7 0.2 0.0 0.2						LENGTH	4.6 D	3.3 D	7.7 D	3.0 D	0.0 D	3.3 D									
						% SUSP	2.7 %	2.1 %	8.5 %	2.2 %	0.0 %	1.9 %									
HENRY COUNTY						ENROLL	6270	3734	2532	0	0	4									
GEORGIA						N SUSP	475	236	147	0	92	0									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
59.6 40.4 0.0 0.0 0.1						LENGTH	4.9 D	4.6 D	5.9 D	0.0 D	4.0 D	0.0 D									
						% SUSP	7.6 %	6.3 %	5.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %									
HOUSTON COUNTY						ENROLL	16006	12184	3650	64	69	39									
GEORGIA						N SUSP	734	425	300	9	0	0									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
76.1 22.8 0.4 0.4 0.2						LENGTH	3.4 D	3.4 D	3.5 D	3.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D									
						% SUSP	4.6 %	3.5 %	8.2 %	14.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %									
MUSCOGEE COUNTY						ENROLL	38349	24988	13131	105	18	107									
GEORGIA						N SUSP	2867	1285	1563	15	1	3									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
65.2 34.2 0.3 0.0 0.3						LENGTH	5.0 D	4.4 D	5.6 D	5.0 D	0.0 D	8.3 D									
						% SUSP	7.5 %	5.1 %	11.9 %	14.3 %	0.0 %	2.8 %									
MAYCROSS CITY						ENROLL	4081	2108	1973	0	0	0									
GEORGIA						N SUSP	840	325	515	0	0	0									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
51.7 48.3 0.0 0.0 0.0						LENGTH	3.2 D	3.1 D	3.3 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D									
						% SUSP	20.6 %	15.4 %	26.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %									
AMERICAN FALLS JT 381						ENROLL	1273	1124	0	95	51	3									
IDAHO						N SUSP	17	12	0	0	5	0									
WHITE BLACK SPAN.						IND.	ASIAN														
88.3 0.0 7.5 4.0 0.2						LENGTH	8.8 D	6.2 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	15.0 D	0.0 D									
						% SUSP	1.3 %	1.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	9.8 %	0.0 %									

TABLE 3

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73

BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS		TOTAL WHITE BLACK SPANISH INDIAN ASIAN UNKNOWN							RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT					
									T	W	B	S	I	A
BLACKFOOT 55		ENROLL	3811	3100	3	168	503	37						
IDAHO		N SUSP	37	21	0	0	16	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	2.6 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.1 0	0.0 0						
81.3 0.1 4.4 13.2 1.0		% SUSP	1.0 %	0.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	3.2 %	0.0 %						31
MINIDOKA CD SCHOOL DIST 331		ENROLL	5105	4355	12	666	36	36						
IDAHO		N SUSP	1276	1273	1	2	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
85.3 0.2 13.0 0.7 0.7		% SUSP	25.0 %	29.2 %	0.0 %	0.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
BLOOM TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOL		ENROLL	4880	3174	1383	306	13	4						
ILLINOIS (2)		N SUSP	1529	775	686	66	0	2						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	4.2 0	3.8 0	4.8 0	3.5 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
65.0 28.3 6.3 0.3 0.1		% SUSP	31.3 %	24.4 %	49.6 %	21.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
COMM HS (WORTH) 218		ENROLL	7438	5946	1274	188	23	7						
ILLINOIS (1) (2)		N SUSP	1227	683	515	28	1	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	4.0 0	3.4 0	3.9 0	3.2 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
79.9 17.1 2.5 0.3 0.1		% SUSP	16.5 %	11.5 %	40.4 %	14.9 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
BREMEN		ENROLL	6290	5656	560	46	12	16						
ILLINOIS (2)		N SUSP	1501	1301	195	2	2	1						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	4.9 0	4.7 0	6.5 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
89.9 8.9 0.7 0.2 0.3		% SUSP	23.9 %	23.0 %	34.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
CAIRO SCHOOL DISTRICT NO ONE		ENROLL	1327	385	935	0	1	6						
ILLINOIS		N SUSP	64	14	15	0	0	35						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	2.7 0	1.1 0	1.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	3.9 0						
29.0 70.5 0.0 0.1 0.5		% SUSP	4.8 %	3.6 %	1.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	100.0 %						
CHICAGO		ENROLL	553342	170373	315940	61423	1153	4453						
ILLINOIS (1) (3)		N SUSP	28645	0	12	0	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	4.8 0	0.0 0	8.1 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
30.8 57.1 11.1 0.2 0.8		% SUSP	5.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
JOLIET TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOLS		ENROLL	6460	4953	1163	315	23	6						
ILLINOIS (2)		N SUSP	2069	1240	743	78	0	8						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	3.7 0	2.8 0	5.2 0	3.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
76.7 18.0 4.9 0.4 0.1		% SUSP	32.0 %	25.0 %	63.9 %	24.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
LOCKPORT TWP HS DIST 205		ENROLL	2467	2179	265	22	0	1						
ILLINOIS (1) (2)		N SUSP	234	150	81	3	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	5.5 0	5.0 0	5.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
88.3 10.7 0.9 0.0 0.0		% SUSP	9.5 %	6.7 %	30.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
MONTICELLO PUBLIC SCHOOLS		ENROLL	12000	11325	130	491	29	25						
IDAHO		N SUSP	762	747	5	10	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	0.6 0	0.6 0	2.2 0	0.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
1.1 4.1 0.2 0.2		% SUSP	6.3 %	6.6 %	3.8 %	2.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						



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TABLE 3

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS

TOTAL WHITE BLACK SPANISH INDIAN ASIAN UNKNOWN

RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT
T W U S I A

KANSAS CITY		ENROLL	32947	20318	11316	1223	62	28		N SUSP	48
KANSAS	(3)	N SUSP	2988	1427	1456	102	3	0	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	4.7 D	4.3 D	5.2 D	3.6 D	4.3 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	
61.7 34.3 3.7 0.2 0.1		% SUSP	9.1 %	7.0 %	12.9 %	8.3 %	4.8 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	
LAWRENCE USD 497		ENROLL	7692	6863	500	134	139	56		N SUSP	
KANSAS		N SUSP	301	229	54	5	12	1	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	3.7 D	3.8 D	3.7 D	3.2 D	3.2 D	2.0 D		EXCESS	
89.2 6.5 1.7 1.8 0.7		% SUSP	3.9 %	3.3 %	10.8 %	3.7 %	8.6 %	1.8 %		% HIGH	24
WICHITA UNIFIED 259.		ENROLL	57254	45942	9367	1372	384	189		N SUSP	40 27 28
KANSAS	(3)	N SUSP	3580	2084	1398	61	31	6	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	4.7 D	4.7 D	4.7 D	4.7 D	4.7 D	4.8 D		EXCESS	48 39 26
80.2 16.4 2.4 0.7 0.3		% SUSP	6.3 %	4.5 %	14.9 %	4.4 %	8.1 %	3.2 %		% HIGH	
HENDERSON CITY		ENROLL	2868	2180	687	1	0	0		N SUSP	
KENTUCKY		N SUSP	541	314	227	0	0	0	0	% SUSP	28 34 19
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	2.7 D	2.6 D	2.9 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	
76.0 24.0 0.0 0.0 0.0		% SUSP	18.9 %	14.4 %	33.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	22
JEFFERSON COUNTY PUBLIC SCH		ENROLL	95742	91923	3725	20	34	40		N SUSP	23
KENTUCKY	(1) (3)	N SUSP	2879	2333	274	4	0	3	265	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	2.2 D	2.2 D	2.8 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	
96.0 3.9 0.0 0.0 0.0		% SUSP	3.0 %	2.5 %	7.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	
LOUISVILLE INDEPENDENT		ENROLL	49133	24011	25078	12	17	15		N SUSP	
KENTUCKY	(3)	N SUSP	1589	968	620	0	0	1	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	1.6 D	1.0 D	2.4 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	*4*
48.9 51.0 0.0 0.0 0.0		% SUSP	3.2 %	4.0 %	2.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	
CADDO PARISH		ENROLL	52336	26044	26064	173	27	28		N SUSP	19 21 12
LOUISIANA	(3)	N SUSP	6857	2587	4262	7	1	0	0	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	2.8 D	2.8 D	2.8 D	4.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	31 20
49.8 49.8 0.3 0.1 0.1		% SUSP	13.1 %	9.9 %	16.4 %	4.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	
CONCORDIA PARISH		ENROLL	5382	2535	2844	2	1	0		N SUSP	
LOUISIANA		N SUSP	804	254	550	0	0	0	0	% SUSP	56
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	4.5 D	5.2 D	4.1 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	
47.1 52.8 0.0 0.0 0.0		% SUSP	14.9 %	10.0 %	19.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH	
EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH SCH 80		ENROLL	67342	40751	26184	248	68	91		N SUSP	18 16 14
LOUISIANA	(1) (3)	N SUSP	6919	2761	3960	12	1	1	184	% SUSP	
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	3.6 D	2.9 D	4.0 D	2.9 D	15.0 D	1.0 D		EXCESS	17 15
60.5 38.9 0.4 0.1 0.1		% SUSP	10.3 %	6.8 %	15.1 %	4.8 %	1.5 %	1.1 %		% HIGH	
JEFFERSON PARISH		ENROLL	66030	50627	13982	1135	163	123		N SUSP	*7* *2* 13
LOUISIANA	(3)	N SUSP	10567	6436	4014	114	0	3	0	% SUSP	36 48 28
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN		LENGTH	2.5 D	2.5 D	2.6 D	2.6 D	0.0 D	6.0 D		EXCESS	14
76.7 21.2 1.7 0.2 0.2		% SUSP	16.0 %	12.7 %	28.7 %	10.0 %	0.0 %	2.4 %		% HIGH	35

LAFOURCHE PARISH					ENROLL	19750	16702	2958	9	1	0		N SUSP			
LOUISIANA					N SUSP	1140	517	623	0	0	0	0	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	2.1 0	2.1 0	2.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		% SUSP			
85.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	% SUSP	5.8 %	3.1 %	21.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		EXCESS			
													% HIGH		25	
DRELEANS PARISH					ENROLL	103839	24535	77504	1622	37	141		N SUSP	*10	42	*2*
LOUISIANA					N SUSP	9734	1649	7993	90	0	2	0	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	3.5 0	3.5 0	3.5 0	4.0 0	0.0 0	3.0 0		% SUSP			
23.6	74.6	1.6	0.0	0.1	% SUSP	9.4 %	6.7 %	10.3 %	5.5 %	0.0 %	1.4 %		EXCESS	13		*9*
													% HIGH			
TERREBONNE PARISH SCHOOLS					ENROLL	21499	17339	4135	19	1	5		N SUSP			
LOUISIANA					N SUSP	2093	1170	923	0	0	0	0	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	5.1 0	4.2 0	6.4 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		% SUSP			50
80.7	19.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	% SUSP	9.7 %	6.7 %	22.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		EXCESS			
													% HIGH			37
WEBSTER PARISH SCH 80					ENROLL	10103	6009	4091	1	0	2		N SUSP			
LOUISIANA					N SUSP	635	422	213	0	0	0	0	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	2.1 0	1.9 0	2.4 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		% SUSP			
59.5	40.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	% SUSP	6.3 %	7.0 %	5.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		EXCESS		24	
													% HIGH			
WEST BATON ROUGE PARISH SCH					ENROLL	3867	1471	2394	2	0	0		N SUSP			
LOUISIANA					N SUSP	647	188	459	0	0	0	0	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	3.5 0	3.5 0	3.5 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		% SUSP	31	47	
38.0	61.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	% SUSP	16.7 %	12.8 %	19.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		EXCESS			
													% HIGH			
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY					ENROLL	77083	66881	9713	182	93	214		N SUSP			29
MARYLAND					N SUSP	2801	2031	754	12	1	3	0	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	4.5 0	4.1 0	5.4 0	3.0 0	3.0 0	3.0 0		% SUSP			
86.8	12.6	0.2	0.1	0.3	% SUSP	3.6 %	3.0 %	7.8 %	6.6 %	1.1 %	1.4 %		EXCESS			
													% HIGH			
BALTIMORE CITY PUB SCH					ENROLL	186600	57350	129250	0	0	0		N SUSP			
MARYLAND					N SUSP	1790	0	0	0	0	0	1790	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	35.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		% SUSP			
30.7	69.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	% SUSP	1.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		EXCESS		26	
													% HIGH			
BALTIMORE COUNTY					ENROLL	131987	125677	5604	260	51	395		N SUSP	16	*1*	
MARYLAND					N SUSP	7167	6491	452	10	1	5	208	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	2.6 0	2.6 0	3.0 0	2.5 0	1.0 0	2.6 0		% SUSP			
95.2	4.2	0.2	0.0	0.3	% SUSP	5.4 %	5.2 %	8.1 %	3.8 %	2.0 %	1.3 %		EXCESS			
													% HIGH			
HARFORD COUNTY					ENROLL	32418	29062	2994	159	58	145		N SUSP			
MARYLAND					N SUSP	1470	1325	143	2	0	0	0	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	2.1 0	2.0 0	2.9 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0		% SUSP			
89.6	9.2	0.5	0.2	0.4	% SUSP	4.5 %	4.6 %	4.8 %	1.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		EXCESS		41	
													% HIGH			
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUB SCH					ENROLL	126707	113795	8131	2690	194	1897		N SUSP			47
MARYLAND					N SUSP	1974	1606	329	32	1	6	0	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	2.2 0	2.1 0	2.4 0	2.0 0	5.0 0	1.8 0		% SUSP			
89.8	6.4	2.1	0.2	1.5	% SUSP	1.6 %	1.4 %	4.0 %	1.2 %	0.5 %	0.3 %		EXCESS			
													% HIGH			
PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY					ENROLL	161969	119033	40397	1137	191	1211		N SUSP	*8*	*4*	11
MARYLAND					N SUSP	10333	5842	4438	38	2	13	0	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	4.0 0	3.9 0	4.1 0	3.0 0	1.5 0	3.9 0		% SUSP			
73.5	24.9	0.7	0.1	0.7	% SUSP	6.4 %	4.9 %	11.0 %	3.3 %	1.0 %	1.1 %		EXCESS	16		11
													% HIGH			
BDSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS					ENROLL	96239	57405	21728	5138	97	1871		N SUSP	32	28	36
MASSACHUSETTS					N SUSP	4090	2049	1913	106	4	12	0	% SUSP			
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	2.9 0	2.5 0	3.4 0	2.7 0	3.3 0	1.9 0		% SUSP			
59.6	33.0	5.3	0.1	1.9	% SUSP	4.2 %	3.6 %	6.0 %	2.1 %	4.1 %	0.6 %		EXCESS			47
													% HIGH			

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS

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SAULT STE MARIE PUBLIC SCH					ENROLL	5018	4580	6	8	405	11		N SUSP		
MICHIGAN					N SUSP	20	5	0	1	14	7	0	% SUSP		
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	2.3 D	1.6 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	2.1 D	0.0 D	0	EXCESS		27
91.4	0.1	0.2	8.1	0.2	% SUSP	0.4 %	0.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	3.5 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		
CASS LAKE MINNESOTA					ENROLL	924	501	2	0	421	0		N SUSP		
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	22	4	1	0	17	0	0	% SUSP		
54.2	0.2	0.0	45.6	0.0	LENGTH	4.5 D	2.8 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	4.9 D	0.0 D	0	EXCESS		25
					% SUSP	2.4 %	0.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	4.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		
MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS					ENROLL	61565	51822	6510	552	2330	351		N SUSP		
MINNESOTA (3)					N SUSP	2404	1629	583	23	165	4	0	% SUSP		*3*
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					LENGTH	2.0 D	1.8 D	2.7 D	1.6 D	2.0 D	1.3 D	0	EXCESS		*3*
84.2	10.6	0.9	3.8	0.6	% SUSP	3.9 %	3.1 %	9.0 %	4.2 %	7.1 %	1.1 %		% HIGH		
PARK RAPIDS MINNESOTA					ENROLL	2307	2092	0	2	211	2		N SUSP		
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	58	35	0	0	23	0	0	% SUSP		37
90.7	0.0	0.1	9.1	0.1	LENGTH	4.1 D	4.1 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	4.0 D	0.0 D	0	EXCESS		16
					% SUSP	2.5 %	1.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	10.9 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		13
ST PAUL 0625 MINNESOTA					ENROLL	48059	42476	3259	1709	498	117		N SUSP		23
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	1762	1251	81	38	33	2	357	% SUSP		15
88.4	6.8	3.6	1.0	0.2	LENGTH	2.9 D	3.4 D	3.2 D	2.5 D	2.9 D	2.0 D		EXCESS		
					% SUSP	3.7 %	2.9 %	2.5 %	2.2 %	6.6 %	1.7 %		% HIGH		
DREW MUNICIPAL SEPARATE SCHOOL MISSISSIPPI					ENROLL	1384	207	1177	0	0	0		N SUSP		
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	399	53	346	0	0	0	0	% SUSP		
15.0	85.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	LENGTH	8.6 D	4.0 D	9.3 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0	EXCESS		24
					% SUSP	28.8 %	25.6 %	29.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		
HUMPHREYS COUNTY SCHOOLS MISSISSIPPI					ENROLL	3464	359	3300	0	0	5		N SUSP		
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	143	31	112	0	0	0	0	% SUSP		
9.3	90.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	LENGTH	4.4 D	4.2 D	4.3 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	3.0 D	0	EXCESS		
					% SUSP	3.9 %	6.5 %	3.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		13
COLUMBIA R-1 MISSOURI					ENROLL	2612	1887	1125	0	0	0		N SUSP		
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	434	187	247	0	0	0	0	% SUSP		
56.9	43.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	LENGTH	5.1 D	4.9 D	4.3 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0	EXCESS		49
					% SUSP	15.5 %	12.0 %	19.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		42
KANSAS CITY 33 MISSOURI					ENROLL	65414	29836	35573	0	0	0		N SUSP		
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	3107	1287	1726	78	13	3	0	% SUSP		42
45.6	54.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	LENGTH	3.4 D	3.6 D	3.0 D	2.6 D	2.2 D	0.0 D	0	EXCESS		30
					% SUSP	4.7 %	4.3 %	4.9 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		
NORMANDY SCHOOL DISTRICT MISSOURI					ENROLL	8662	4633	3976	17	18	18		N SUSP		
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	1411	778	630	1	1	1	0	% SUSP		34
53.5	45.9	0.2	0.2	0.2	LENGTH	4.5 D	4.5 D	4.6 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0	EXCESS		23
					% SUSP	16.3 %	16.8 %	15.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		
ST LOUIS CITY SCHOOL DIST MISSOURI					ENROLL	105617	32632	72629	203	54	99		N SUSP		37
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	2799	896	1898	5	0	0	0	% SUSP		
30.9	68.8	0.2	0.1	0.1	LENGTH	24.6 D	14.3 D	29.3 D	74.2 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0	EXCESS		
					% SUSP	2.7 %	2.7 %	2.6 %	2.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		
WELLSTON MISSOURI					ENROLL	2130	67	2061	1	1	0		N SUSP		
WHITE BLACK SPAN.					N SUSP	114	0	114	0	0	0	0	% SUSP		
3.1	96.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	LENGTH	3.0 D	0.0 D	3.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0	EXCESS		
					% SUSP	5.4 %	0.0 %	5.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %		% HIGH		33

Appendix B.

TABLE 3
SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS						TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT					
													T	W	B	S	I	A
ELKO COUNTY SCH DIST						ENROLL	4144	3447	6	215	462	14	0					
NEVADA						N SUSP	45	20	2	5	18	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.9 0	3.1 0	0.0 0	2.8 0	2.7 0	0.0 0						
83.2 0.1 5.2 11.1 0.3						% SUSP	1.1 %	0.6 %	0.0 %	2.3 %	3.9 %	0.0 %						
WASHOE COUNTY						ENROLL	29705	27544	676	632	546	307	0					
NEVADA						N SUSP	829	741	45	18	25	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.9 0	2.8 0	4.7 0	2.2 0	3.2 0	0.0 0						
92.7 2.3 2.1 1.8 1.0						% SUSP	2.8 %	2.7 %	6.7 %	2.8 %	4.6 %	0.0 %						
ASBURY PARK						ENROLL	2874	871	1829	162	1	11	0					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	715	101	573	41	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.7 0	3.0 0	2.7 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
30.3 63.6 5.6 0.0 0.4						% SUSP	24.9 %	11.6 %	31.3 %	25.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
BRIDGETON						ENROLL	6569	3682	2664	165	17	41	872					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	2040	668	480	16	3	1						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.6 0	3.4 0	4.3 0	4.6 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
56.1 40.6 2.5 0.3 0.6						% SUSP	31.1 %	18.1 %	18.0 %	9.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
DOWNE TOWNSHIP						ENROLL	358	260	86	10	0	2	97					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	97	0	0	0	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
72.6 24.0 2.8 0.0 0.6						% SUSP	27.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
EAST ORANGE						ENROLL	11738	852	10716	119	8	43	0					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	1392	119	1260	13	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.6 0	2.2 0	2.7 0	2.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
7.3 91.3 1.0 0.1 0.4						% SUSP	11.9 %	14.0 %	11.8 %	10.9 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
ESSEX CO VOC SCHOOLS						ENROLL	2074	842	1021	208	0	3	0					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	226	17	169	40	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	1.5 0	0.8 0	1.5 0	1.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
40.6 49.2 10.0 0.0 0.1						% SUSP	10.9 %	2.0 %	16.6 %	19.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
EWING TOWNSHIP						ENROLL	5489	4389	1065	17	9	9	1					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	1085	711	373	0	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.8 0	2.7 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
80.0 19.4 0.3 0.2 0.2						% SUSP	19.8 %	16.2 %	35.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
FLORENCE TOWNSHIP						ENROLL	1638	1453	181	0	0	4	0					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	90	89	1	0	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	1.5 0	1.5 0	2.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
88.7 11.1 0.0 0.0 0.2						% SUSP	5.5 %	6.1 %	0.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
FRANKLIN TOWNSHIP						ENROLL	6811	4991	1676	82	2	60	0					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	245	107	132	6	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.1 0	3.1 0	4.9 0	6.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
73.3 24.6 1.2 0.0 0.9						% SUSP	3.6 %	2.1 %	7.9 %	7.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						

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Appendix B

TABLE 3
SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS						TOTAL WHITE BLACK SPANISH INDIAN ASIAN UNKNOWN						RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT T W B S I A					
NEWARK						ENROLL	78492	9638	56736	11981	21	116					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	2333	117	2004	211	0	1	0				35
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	6.5 0	6.4 0	5.7 0	14.1 0	0.0 0	1.0 0					
12.3 72.3 15.3 0.0 0.1						% SUSP	3.0 %	1.2 %	3.5 %	1.8 %	0.0 %	0.9 %					
NORTH BERGEN PUBLIC SCHOOLS						ENROLL	7302	6513	10	751	2	26					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	822	22	0	6	0	0	794				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	1.8 0	1.7 0	0.0 0	1.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
89.2 0.1 10.3 0.0 0.4						% SUSP	11.3 %	0.3 %	0.0 %	0.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
NORTHERN BURLINGTON COUNTY REG						ENROLL	2293	2042	203	26	2	20					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	577	526	46	3	0	1	1				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.0 0	2.1 0	1.2 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
89.1 8.9 1.1 0.1 0.9						% SUSP	25.2 %	25.8 %	22.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
PASSAIC PUBLIC SCHOOLS						ENROLL	8461	2984	2756	2667	6	48					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	1072	287	498	286	0	1	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	6.8 0	4.6 0	8.5 0	6.1 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
35.3 32.6 31.5 0.1 0.6						% SUSP	12.7 %	9.6 %	18.1 %	10.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
PATERSON						ENROLL	27548	7554	13867	6086	7	34					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	1312	137	1025	150	0	0	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	5.1 0	5.0 0	4.0 0	4.4 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
27.4 50.3 22.1 0.0 0.1						% SUSP	4.8 %	1.8 %	7.4 %	2.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
PENNS GROVE-UPPER PENNS NECK						ENROLL	3043	2249	708	82	0	4					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	379	182	182	15	0	0	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.7 0	4.2 0	5.4 0	2.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
73.9 23.3 2.7 0.0 0.1						% SUSP	12.5 %	8.1 %	25.7 %	18.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
RAHWAY PUBLIC SCHOOLS						ENROLL	4989	3651	1180	131	8	19					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	755	534	208	13	0	0	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.5 0	4.2 0	5.2 0	3.5 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
73.2 23.7 2.6 0.2 0.4						% SUSP	15.1 %	14.6 %	17.6 %	9.9 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
ROSELLE						ENROLL	3453	2007	1346	81	2	17					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	411	0	0	0	0	0	411				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
58.1 39.0 2.3 0.1 0.5						% SUSP	11.9 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
SOMERVILLE PUBLIC SCH						ENROLL	2960	2481	411	60	0	8					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	263	209	43	11	0	0	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.3 0	3.4 0	3.0 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
83.8 13.9 2.0 0.0 0.3						% SUSP	8.9 %	8.4 %	10.5 %	18.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					
SOUTHERN GLOUCESTER COUNTY REG						ENROLL	1452	1150	265	27	3	7					
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	310	210	88	12	0	0	0				
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	2.6 0	3.0 0	2.0 0	1.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0					
79.2 18.3 1.9 0.2 0.5						% SUSP	21.3 %	18.3 %	33.2 %	44.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %					

TEANECK						ENROLL	7451	5389	1861	135	2	64	N SUSP
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	261	144	102	15	0	0	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	3.6 D	3.4 D	4.2 D	1.8 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
12.3 25.0 1.8 0.0 0.9						% SUSP	3.5 %	2.7 %	5.5 %	11.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
24													
IRENTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS						ENROLL	17246	3808	11891	1532	8	7	N SUSP
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	1265	332	864	69	0	0	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	4.8 D	7.6 D	3.7 D	4.7 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
22.1 68.9 8.9 0.0 3.0						% SUSP	7.3 %	8.7 %	7.3 %	4.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
43													
VINELAND CITY				(3)		ENROLL	11976	8201	1293	2468	4	10	N SUSP
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	752	340	257	153	1	1	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	3.7 D	3.7 D	3.7 D	3.7 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
68.5 10.8 20.6 0.0 0.1						% SUSP	6.3 %	4.1 %	19.9 %	6.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
36													
WEST NEW YORK						ENROLL	6544	2231	58	4224	1	30	N SUSP
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	285	139	3	143	0	0	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	4.9 D	4.9 D	5.0 D	4.9 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
34.1 0.9 64.5 0.0 0.5						% SUSP	4.4 %	6.2 %	5.2 %	3.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
47													
WILLINGBORO TOWNSHIP				(1)		ENROLL	14591	11500	2821	180	11	79	N SUSP
NEW JERSEY						N SUSP	1791	16	11	0	0	1	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	3.5 D	1.3 D	1.2 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	1.0 D	EXCESS
78.8 19.3 1.2 0.1 0.5						% SUSP	12.3 %	0.1 %	0.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	1.3 %	% HIGH
28													
ALBUQUERQUE						ENROLL	86658	49764	2221	32574	1828	271	N SUSP
NEW MEXICO						N SUSP	2494	1111	63	1279	41	0	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	2.2 D	2.0 D	2.3 D	2.5 D	2.3 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
57.4 2.6 37.6 2.1 0.3						% SUSP	2.9 %	2.2 %	2.8 %	3.9 %	2.2 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
4													
17													
CENTRAL						ENROLL	4863	742	8	44	4068	1	N SUSP
NEW MEXICO						N SUSP	60	10	1	1	48	0	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	2.4 D	1.6 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	2.7 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
15.3 0.2 0.9 83.7 0.0						% SUSP	1.2 %	1.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	1.2 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
14													
CLOVIS						ENROLL	9355	6461	839	1954	14	87	N SUSP
NEW MEXICO						N SUSP	910	483	115	312	0	0	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	0.9 D	0.7 D	0.7 D	1.2 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
69.1 9.0 20.9 0.1 0.9						% SUSP	9.7 %	7.5 %	13.7 %	16.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
45													
33													
17													
23													
ESPAÑOLA						ENROLL	6246	812	18	5023	393	0	N SUSP
NEW MEXICO				(1)		N SUSP	148	14	0	111	23	0	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	2.7 D	2.1 D	0.0 D	2.8 D	2.4 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
13.0 0.3 80.4 6.3 0.0						% SUSP	2.4 %	1.7 %	0.0 %	2.2 %	5.9 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
19													
GALLUP						ENROLL	12874	2728	83	1699	8337	27	N SUSP
NEW MEXICO				(3)		N SUSP	322	59	3	69	191	0	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	2.3 D	2.7 D	2.3 D	2.9 D	2.0 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
21.2 0.6 13.2 64.8 0.2						% SUSP	2.5 %	2.2 %	3.6 %	4.1 %	2.3 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
2													
38													
BELLPORT						ENROLL	4218	2700	1230	196	3	17	N SUSP
NEW YORK						N SUSP	542	222	297	17	0	6	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	4.1 D	3.6 D	4.0 D	2.1 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
65.6 29.3 4.6 0.1 0.4						% SUSP	12.8 %	8.0 %	24.0 %	8.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
37													
BUFFALO PUBLIC SCHOOLS						ENROLL	64296	35275	26548	1844	537	92	N SUSP
NEW YORK				(1)	(3)	N SUSP	2428	474	1400	38	7	0	% SUSP
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	4.4 D	4.4 D	4.9 D	3.0 D	4.3 D	0.0 D	EXCESS
54.9 41.3 2.9 0.8 0.1						% SUSP	3.8 %	1.3 %	5.3 %	2.1 %	1.3 %	0.0 %	% HIGH
34													
50													
38													

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TABLE 3

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN		RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT					
									T	W	B	S	I	A
CENTRAL ISLIP PUBLIC SCHOOLS NEW YORK	ENROLL 7382	5482	1026	851	7	16								
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN	N SUSP 748	575	94	79	0	0								
74.3 13.9 11.5 0.1 0.2	LENGTH 3.4 0	2.9 0	5.4 0	4.4 0	0.0 0	0.0 0								
	% SUSP 10.1 %	10.5 %	9.2 %	9.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %								
HEMPSTEAD NEW YORK	ENROLL 5687	749	4653	242	5	44								
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN	N SUSP 746	38	674	33	0	1								
13.1 81.8 4.3 0.1 0.8	LENGTH 4.5 0	7.1 0	4.3 0	4.4 0	0.0 0	0.0 0								
	% SUSP 13.1 %	5.1 %	14.5 %	13.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %								
HUNTINGTON NEW YORK	ENROLL 8025	7176	612	203	5	29								
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN	N SUSP 121	48	44	29	0	0								
89.4 7.6 2.5 0.1 0.4	LENGTH 3.5 0	3.5 0	3.7 0	3.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0								
	% SUSP 1.5 %	0.7 %	7.2 %	14.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %								
LA FAYETTE NEW YORK	ENROLL 1587	1222	1	0	364	0								
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN	N SUSP 91	59	0	0	32	0								
77.0 0.1 0.0 22.9 0.0	LENGTH 2.5 0	2.6 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	2.4 0	0.0 0								
	% SUSP 5.7 %	4.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	8.8 %	0.0 %								
LACKAWANNA NEW YORK	ENROLL 5497	4316	892	282	5	2								
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN	N SUSP 212	78	108	26	0	0								
78.5 16.2 5.1 0.1 0.0	LENGTH 5.2 0	4.9 0	5.1 0	6.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0								
	% SUSP 3.9 %	1.8 %	12.1 %	9.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %								
MOUNT VERNON NEW YORK	ENROLL 11838	4205	7275	281	7	70								
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN	N SUSP 1343	422	883	37	0	1								
35.5 61.5 2.4 0.1 0.6	LENGTH 3.4 0	3.0 0	3.7 0	3.2 0	0.0 0	3.0 0								
	% SUSP 11.3 %	10.0 %	12.1 %	13.2 %	0.0 %	1.4 %								
NEW YORK CITY NEW YORK	ENROLL 1125449	400495	405177	298903	400	20474								
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN	N SUSP 19504	420	1837	975	0	4								
35.6 36.0 26.6 0.0 1.8	LENGTH 4.4 0	4.3 0	4.6 0	3.9 0	0.0 0	4.5 0								
	% SUSP 1.7 %	0.1 %	0.5 %	0.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %								
NIAGARA WHEATFIELD CENTRAL NEW YORK	ENROLL 5678	5218	95	5	353	7								
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN	N SUSP 428	388	9	0	31	0								
91.9 1.7 0.1 6.2 0.1	LENGTH 3.7 0	3.7 0	1.7 0	0.0 0	3.8 0	0.0 0								
	% SUSP 7.5 %	7.4 %	9.5 %	0.0 %	8.8 %	0.0 %								
OSSINING NEW YORK	ENROLL 5466	4267	970	208	3	18								
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN	N SUSP 662	381	281	0	0	0								
78.1 17.7 3.8 0.1 0.3	LENGTH 2.0 0	0.5 0	1.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0								
	% SUSP 12.1 %	8.9 %	29.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %								
ROCHESTER NEW YORK	ENROLL 43347	24271	16440	2428	121	87								
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN	N SUSP 3758	353	546	33	0	1								
56.0 37.9 5.6 0.3 0.2	LENGTH 3.2 0	3.4 0	3.8 0	5.0 0	0.0 0	5.0 0								
	% SUSP 8.7 %	1.5 %	3.3 %	1.4 %	0.0 %	1.1 %								



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SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS						TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT						
														T	W	B	S	I	A
CLEVELAND CITY SCH DIST						ENROLL	145196	58189	83596	2844	319	248							
OHIO						N SUSP	11988	3401	8412	151	19	5							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	6.4 0	4.4 0	7.2 0	5.7 0	5.3 0	5.0 0							
40.1 57.6 2.0 0.2 0.2						% SUSP	8.3 %	5.8 %	10.1 %	5.3 %	6.0 %	2.0 %							
DAYTON						ENROLL	52162	28698	23254	84	57	69							
OHIO						N SUSP	3390	1650	1735	4	0	1							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	6.4 0	5.5 0	7.3 0	9.0 0	0.0 0	5.0 0							
55.0 44.6 0.2 0.1 0.1						% SUSP	6.5 %	5.7 %	7.5 %	4.8 %	0.0 %	1.4 %							
EAST CLEVELAND						ENROLL	8168	469	7660	16	11	12							
OHIO						N SUSP	820	22	798	0	0	0							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.3 0	3.6 0	3.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0							
5.7 93.8 0.2 0.1 0.1						% SUSP	10.0 %	4.7 %	10.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %							
ELYRIA CITY						ENROLL	14037	11906	2026	73	17	15							
OHIO						N SUSP	1143	724	415	2	1	1							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	4.2 0	3.6 0	5.2 0	2.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0							
84.8 14.4 0.5 0.1 0.1						% SUSP	8.1 %	6.1 %	20.5 %	2.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %							
FREMONT						ENROLL	6962	5901	367	689	0	5							
OHIO						N SUSP	1383	1027	155	201	0	0							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	0.9 0	0.9 0	0.8 0	1.1 0	0.0 0	0.0 0							
84.8 5.3 9.9 0.0 0.1						% SUSP	19.9 %	17.4 %	42.2 %	29.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %							
MANSFIELD						ENROLL	11101	8579	2441	51	7	23							
OHIO						N SUSP	831	488	337	6	0	0							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	5.8 0	5.7 0	6.0 0	6.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0							
77.3 22.0 0.5 0.1 0.2						% SUSP	7.5 %	5.7 %	13.8 %	11.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %							
SANDUSKY CITY SCHOOLS						ENROLL	6943	5173	1697	65	5	3							
OHIO						N SUSP	362	142	212	8	0	0							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	12.6 0	12.8 0	12.7 0	8.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0							
74.5 24.4 0.9 0.1 0.0						% SUSP	5.2 %	2.7 %	12.5 %	12.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %							
TOLEDO PUBLIC SCHOOLS						ENROLL	61694	42773	16816	1950	24	131							
OHIO						N SUSP	2889	1485	1336	66	0	2							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.7 0	4.0 0	3.5 0	4.5 0	0.0 0	3.0 0							
69.3 27.3 3.2 0.0 0.2						% SUSP	4.7 %	3.5 %	7.9 %	3.4 %	0.0 %	1.5 %							
YOUNGSTOWN						ENROLL	24114	12365	10780	893	31	45							
OHIO						N SUSP	1563	399	1111	47	4	2							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	5.4 0	4.4 0	5.9 0	4.7 0	0.0 0	0.0 0							
51.3 44.7 3.7 0.1 0.2						% SUSP	6.5 %	3.2 %	10.3 %	5.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %							
LAWTON						ENROLL	21006	15670	3427	815	676	418							
OKLAHOMA						N SUSP	316	109	179	7	19	2							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. IND. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.9 0	2.8 0	4.5 0	3.1 0	5.8 0	2.5 0							
74.6 16.3 3.9 3.2 2.0						% SUSP	1.5 %	0.7 %	5.2 %	0.9 %	2.8 %	0.5 %							



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Appendix B.

TABLE 3
SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS						TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK UNDER OF DISTRICT					
													T	W	B	S	I	A
NEWPORT						ENROLL	6248	5360	738	52	15	83						
RHODE ISLAND						N SUSP	255	202	41	12	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	1.4 0	1.3 0	1.8 0	1.6 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						14
85.8	11.8	0.8	0.2	1.3		% SUSP	4.1 %	3.8 %	5.6 %	23.1 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						*4*
PROVIDENCE						ENROLL	22953	17406	5006	379	10	152						
RHODE ISLAND	(1)	(3)				N SUSP	2303	807	964	37	1	4						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	2.3 0	3.1 0	3.5 0	2.1 0	0.0 0	1.5 0						
75.8	21.8	1.7	0.0	0.7		% SUSP	10.0 %	4.6 %	11.3 %	9.8 %	0.0 %	2.6 %						
																		42
																		32
BERKELEY COUNTY						ENROLL	18493	11271	7072	54	8	88						
SOUTH CAROLINA						N SUSP	702	363	319	5	15	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	2.5 0	2.3 0	2.7 0	3.0 0	2.5 0	0.0 0						
60.9	38.2	0.3	0.0	0.5		% SUSP	3.8 %	3.2 %	4.5 %	9.3 %	100.0 %	0.0 %						
																		2
																		22
																		42 *2*
CHARLESTON COUNTY SCHOOL DIST						ENROLL	55562	28241	26965	155	47	154						
SOUTH CAROLINA	(3)					N SUSP	4272	1927	2329	11	3	2						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	2.8 0	2.7 0	2.9 0	2.6 0	0.0 0	3.0 0						
50.8	48.5	0.3	0.1	0.3		% SUSP	7.7 %	6.8 %	8.6 %	7.1 %	0.0 %	1.3 %						
																		29 35 29
GREENVILLE COUNTY						ENROLL	56930	44164	12660	41	17	32						
SOUTH CAROLINA	(3)					N SUSP	3754	1953	1800	1	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	3.5 0	3.1 0	4.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
77.6	22.3	0.1	0.0	0.1		% SUSP	6.6 %	4.4 %	14.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
																		36 34 39
																		43 34
OCONEE COUNTY						ENROLL	10417	9195	1216	3	3	0						
SOUTH CAROLINA						N SUSP	460	253	207	0	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	3.4 0	3.0 0	3.8 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
88.3	11.7	0.0	0.0	0.0		% SUSP	4.4 %	2.8 %	17.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
																		43
RICHLAND COUNTY 01						ENROLL	36074	15562	20458	22	6	26						
SOUTH CAROLINA	(3)					N SUSP	4085	1067	3018	0	0	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	3.2 0	3.0 0	3.3 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0						
43.1	56.7	0.1	0.0	0.1		% SUSP	11.3 %	6.9 %	14.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
																		33 17
																		33 23
YORK COUNTY 03						ENROLL	12383	8238	4077	2	60	6						
SOUTH CAROLINA						N SUSP	965	368	590	0	6	1						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	4.7 0	4.2 0	5.1 0	0.0 0	4.3 0	0.0 0						
66.5	32.9	0.0	0.5	0.0		% SUSP	7.8 %	4.5 %	14.5 %	0.0 %	10.0 %	0.0 %						
																		23
																		23
RAPID CITY						ENROLL	13787	12287	67	103	1281	49						
SOUTH DAKOTA	(1)	(3)				N SUSP	186	151	0	7	28	0						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	2.4 0	2.3 0	0.0 0	2.7 0	2.4 0	0.0 0						
89.1	0.5	0.7	9.3	0.4		% SUSP	1.3 %	1.2 %	0.0 %	6.8 %	2.2 %	0.0 %						
																		31
																		34
																		44
MEMPHIS CITY SCHOOLS						ENROLL	138714	58309	80158	48	28	171						
TENNESSEE	(1)	(3)				N SUSP	9367	2099	6173	2	379	1						
WHITE BLACK SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN				LENGTH	2.9 0	2.3 0	3.1 0	0.0 0	3.0 0	1.0 0						
42.0	57.8	0.0	0.0	0.1		% SUSP	6.8 %	3.6 %	7.7 %	0.0 %	100.0 %	0.6 %						
																		12 26 *5*
																		1
																		1
																		1
																		1



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TABLE 3
SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS						TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN	RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT					
													T	W	B	S	I	A
MEXIA ISD						ENROLL	1876	1105	753	17	0	1						
TEXAS						N SUSP	230	59	171	0	0	0						
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	3.4 D	3.2 D	3.4 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D						
58.9	40.1	0.9	0.0	0.1	% SUSP	12.3 %	5.3 %	22.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
PASADENA IND SCHOOL DIST						ENROLL	35018	31348	16	3510	70	74						
TEXAS						N SUSP	741	676	0	64	0	1						
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	4.4 D	4.5 D	0.0 D	3.4 D	0.0 D	3.0 D	3.0 D						
89.5	0.0	10.0	0.2	0.2	% SUSP	2.1 %	2.2 %	0.0 %	1.2 %	0.0 %	1.4 %	1.4 %						
SAN ANTONIO ISD						ENROLL	72305	14173	11443	46484	26	179						
TEXAS						N SUSP	1558	263	572	722	0	1						
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	2.3 D	2.3 D	2.2 D	2.3 D	0.0 D	3.0 D	3.0 D						
19.6	15.8	64.3	0.0	0.2	% SUSP	2.2 %	1.9 %	5.0 %	1.6 %	0.0 %	0.6 %	0.6 %						
SOUTH SAN ANTONIO ISD						ENROLL	10642	3420	336	6855	9	22						
TEXAS						N SUSP	457	137	22	298	0	0						
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	2.9 D	2.8 D	3.9 D	2.9 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D						
32.1	3.2	64.4	0.1	0.2	% SUSP	4.3 %	4.0 %	6.5 %	4.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
TEMPLE ISD						ENROLL	7783	5131	1663	977	3	9						
TEXAS						N SUSP	501	154	277	70	0	0						
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	3.5 D	3.1 D	3.8 D	2.9 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D						
65.9	21.4	12.6	0.0	0.1	% SUSP	6.4 %	3.0 %	16.7 %	7.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
VICTORIA INDEPENDENT SCH DIST						ENROLL	12322	6801	1094	4425	0	2						
TEXAS						N SUSP	838	410	85	343	0	0						
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	3.2 D	2.5 D	2.5 D	4.1 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D						
55.2	8.9	35.9	0.0	0.0	% SUSP	6.8 %	6.0 %	7.8 %	7.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
DODGEN CITY SCHOOL						ENROLL	15163	12678	499	1783	87	116						
UTAH						N SUSP	735	497	55	182	0	1						
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	2.4 D	2.4 D	2.0 D	2.6 D	0.0 D	2.0 D	2.0 D						
83.6	3.3	11.8	0.6	0.8	% SUSP	4.8 %	3.9 %	11.0 %	10.2 %	0.0 %	0.9 %	0.9 %						
SAN JUAN COUNTY						ENROLL	2713	1370	1	73	1265	4						
UTAH						N SUSP	78	28	0	4	46	0						
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	4.4 D	2.0 D	0.0 D	1.5 D	6.1 D	0.0 D	0.0 D						
50.5	0.0	2.7	46.6	0.1	% SUSP	2.9 %	2.0 %	0.0 %	5.5 %	3.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						
ARLINGTON COUNTY SCHOOLS						ENROLL	22029	18070	2730	674	44	521						
VIRGINIA						N SUSP	1155	644	468	32	0	11						
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	2.5 D	2.4 D	2.4 D	2.2 D	0.0 D	2.5 D	2.5 D						
82.0	12.4	3.1	0.2	2.4	% SUSP	5.2 %	3.6 %	17.1 %	4.7 %	0.0 %	2.1 %	2.1 %						
KING AND QUEEN COUNTY						ENROLL	1108	235	864	0	9	0						
VIRGINIA						N SUSP	58	22	36	0	0	0						
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN	LENGTH	4.3 D	3.1 D	5.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D						
21.2	78.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	% SUSP	5.2 %	9.4 %	4.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %						

NORFOLK CITY						ENROLL	48701	24224	24120	216	54	287	0	N SUSP	27	49	19	*4*	
VIRGINIA						N SUSP	4458	1505	2882	4	0	67		% SUSP				*3*	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	5.0 D	4.2 D	5.4 D	1.8 D	0.0 D	6.2 D		EXCESS	39		31	*1*	
49.3	49.5	0.4	0.1	0.6	% SUSP	9.2 %	6.3 %	11.9 %	1.9 %	0.0 %	23.3 %	% HIGH					*3*		
ORANGE COUNTY						ENROLL	3605	2548	1057	0	0	0	0	N SUSP					
VIRGINIA						N SUSP	522	276	246	0	0	0		% SUSP			43		
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	1.9 D	1.9 D	2.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D		EXCESS					
70.7	29.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	% SUSP	14.5 %	10.8 %	23.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH							
PORTSMOUTH CITY SCHOOLS						ENROLL	24464	10449	13986	7	11	11	0	N SUSP					
VIRGINIA						N SUSP	2822	1089	1732	1	0	0		% SUSP			41		
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	5.2 D	4.1 D	5.8 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D		EXCESS					
42.7	57.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	% SUSP	11.5 %	10.4 %	12.4 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH							
RICHMOND CITY						ENROLL	43825	12901	30746	40	31	107	0	N SUSP	50		25		
VIRGINIA						N SUSP	3103	495	2606	0	2	0		% SUSP					
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	3.4 D	4.8 D	3.1 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D		EXCESS	38		28		
29.4	70.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	% SUSP	7.1 %	3.8 %	8.5 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH							
VIRGINIA BEACH CITY SCHOOLS						ENROLL	47919	42366	4855	301	133	264	0	N SUSP	44	18			
VIRGINIA						N SUSP	3380	2753	573	34	11	9		% SUSP					
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	2.2 D	2.0 D	2.8 D	1.8 D	2.5 D	1.6 D		EXCESS					
88.4	10.1	0.6	0.3	0.6	% SUSP	7.1 %	6.5 %	11.3 %	11.3 %	8.3 %	3.4 %	% HIGH							
GRAND COVELEE DAM SCH DIST 301J						ENROLL	1530	1287	25	9	201	8	0	N SUSP				40	
WASHINGTON						N SUSP	87	61	4	0	22	0		% SUSP				14	
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	2.9 D	2.8 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	3.2 D	0.0 D		EXCESS				32	
84.1	1.6	0.6	13.1	0.5	% SUSP	5.7 %	4.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	10.9 %	0.0 %	% HIGH					19		
SEATTLE						ENROLL	75239	58024	10837	916	960	4502	0	N SUSP				11	
WASHINGTON						N SUSP	1830	1091	638	30	56	15		% SUSP					
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	0.0 D		EXCESS				*6*	
77.1	14.4	1.2	1.3	6.0	% SUSP	2.4 %	1.9 %	5.9 %	3.3 %	5.8 %	0.3 %	% HIGH							
TACOMA SCHOOL DISTRICT						ENROLL	34453	29186	3760	372	594	541	0	N SUSP					
WASHINGTON						N SUSP	309	225	59	7	15	3		% SUSP					
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	4.8 D	5.4 D	3.9 D	2.7 D	1.7 D	3.0 D		EXCESS				40	
84.7	10.9	1.1	1.7	1.6	% SUSP	0.9 %	0.8 %	1.6 %	1.9 %	2.5 %	0.6 %	% HIGH							
WAPATO SCHOOL DISTRICT #207						ENROLL	3058	1439	5	460	633	121	0	N SUSP				30	
WASHINGTON						N SUSP	84	34	0	19	30	1		% SUSP					
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	3.9 D	3.9 D	0.0 D	4.2 D	3.9 D	3.0 D		EXCESS				21	
47.1	0.2	28.1	20.7	4.0	% SUSP	2.7 %	2.4 %	0.0 %	2.2 %	4.7 %	0.8 %	% HIGH							
MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS						ENROLL	127986	84386	38060	4460	771	309	171	N SUSP	*9*	*6*	*8*	25	*9*
WISCONSIN						N SUSP	10199	4109	5401	434	73	11		% SUSP					
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	2.3 D	2.3 D	2.3 D	2.2 D	2.5 D	3.3 D		EXCESS	*6*		*4*	13	*7*
65.9	29.7	3.5	0.6	0.2	% SUSP	8.0 %	4.9 %	14.2 %	9.7 %	9.5 %	3.6 %	% HIGH							
RACINE						ENROLL	31309	25586	4126	1536	30	31	100	N SUSP					
WISCONSIN						N SUSP	1796	1064	473	156	2	1		% SUSP					
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	2.7 D	2.7 D	3.4 D	2.6 D	0.0 D	0.0 D		EXCESS				35	
81.7	13.2	4.9	0.1	0.1	% SUSP	5.7 %	4.2 %	11.5 %	10.2 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH					43		
SHAWANO						ENROLL	3492	2539	0	0	951	2	0	N SUSP					*8*
WISCONSIN						N SUSP	152	74	0	0	78	0		% SUSP					
WHITE	BLACK	SPAN.	IND.	ASIAN		LENGTH	2.1 D	1.9 D	0.0 D	0.0 D	2.2 D	0.0 D		EXCESS				*5*	
72.7	0.0	0.0	27.2	0.1	% SUSP	4.4 %	2.9 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	8.2 %	0.0 %	% HIGH					25		

Appendix B

TABLE 3

SCHOOL SUSPENSION DATA FROM OCR FOR 1972-73
BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT NAME / ETHNIC RATIOS							TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	SPANISH	INDIAN	ASIAN	UNKNOWN		RANK ORDER OF DISTRICT						
																T	W	B	S	I	A
WAUWATOSA						ENROLL	10559	10411	65	23	20	40		N SUSP							
WISCONSIN						(3) N SUSP	357	342	13	2	0	0	0	% SUSP							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	1.9 0	1.9 0	2.2 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	EXCESS								
98.6 0.6 0.2 0.2 0.4						% SUSP	3.4 %	3.3 %	20.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH							32	
ALBANY COUNTY SCHOOL DIST NO 1						ENROLL	4216	3722	40	400	17	37	N SUSP								
WYOMING						(3) N SUSP	173	128	4	41	0	0	0	% SUSP							
WHITE BLACK SPAN. INO. ASIAN						LENGTH	3.2 0	3.2 0	0.0 0	3.4 0	0.0 0	0.0 0	EXCESS								
88.3 0.9 9.5 0.4 0.9						% SUSP	4.1 %	3.4 %	0.0 %	10.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	% HIGH							31	

Appendix B

TABLE 4

Twenty Worst Districts in the United States for All StudentsElementary and Secondary Combined

<u>Rank</u>	<u>District Name</u>	<u>Number Susp.</u>	<u>District Name</u>	<u>Percent Susp.</u>
1	Chicago, Ill.	28645.0	Gridley Union, Cal.	40.9
2	New York City, N.Y.	19504.0	Oroville Union, Cal.	32.2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.	18431.0	Joliet, Ill.	32.0
4	Duval Co., Fla.	12644.0	Bloom, Ill.	31.3
5	Cleveland, Ohio	11988.0	Bridgeton, N.J.	31.1
6	Dallas, Tex.	10851.0	Drew, Miss.	28.8
7	Jefferson Parish, La.	10567.0	Proviso, Ill.	27.5
8	Prince George Co., Md.	10333.0	Downe, N.J.	27.1
9	Milwaukee, Wis.	10199.0	Central Union, Cal.	26.4
10	Orleans Parish, La.	9734.0	No. Burlington, N.J.	25.2
11	Pittsburgh, Pa.	9587.0	Minidoka Co., Ida.	25.0
12	Memphis, Tenn.	9367.0	Asbury Park, N.J.	24.9
13	Houston, Tex.	9156.0	No. Chicago, Ill.	24.9
14	Indianapolis, Ind.	7681.0	Hughson Union, Cal.	24.7
15	Pinellas Co., Fla.	7672.0	Bremen, Ill.	23.9
16	Baltimore Co., Md.	7167.0	Lower Camden Co., N.J.	23.8
17	Hillsborough Co., Fla.	6930.0	Roseville Union, Cal.	23.3
18	East Baton Rouge Pr., La.	6919.0	Lemoore Union, Cal.	22.0
19	Caddo Parish, La.	6857.0	Thornton, Ill.	21.5
20	Dade Co., Fla.	6812.0	So. Gloucester, N.J.	21.3

Appendix B

TABLE 5

Twenty Worst Districts in the United States for Black StudentsElementary and Secondary Combined

Rank	District Name	Number Susp.	District Name	Percent Susp.	District Name	Excess Number Susp.	District Name	Percent Above White Rate
1	Cleveland, Ohio	8412.0	Joliet, Ill.	63.9	Detroit, Mich.	3820.7	Joliet, Ill.	38.9
2	Orleans Parish, La.	7993.0	Proviso, Ill.	53.1	Duval Co., Fla.	3712.6	Zion-Benton, Ill.	38.0
3	Duval Co., Fla.	6628.0	Bloom, Ill.	49.6	Dallas Ind., Tex.	3711.7	Proviso, Ill.	31.0
4	Dallas Ind., Tex.	6324.0	Central Union, Cal.	48.0	Milwaukee, Wis.	3547.7	Millville, N.J.	29.2
5	Memphis, Tenn.	6173.0	Zion-Benton, Ill.	47.2	Cleveland, Ohio	3526.0	Worth, Ill.	28.9
6	Pittsburgh, Pa.	5694.0	Roseville Union, Cal.	43.6	Memphis, Tenn.	3287.5	Bloom, Ill.	25.2
7	Detroit, Mich.	5560.0	Fremont, Ohio	42.2	Pittsburgh, Pa.	2885.5	No. Chicago, Ill.	25.0
8	Milwaukee, Wis.	5401.0	Worth, Ill.	40.4	Houston, Tex.	2826.3	Fremont, Ohio	24.8
9	Houston, Tex.	5181.0	Thorton, Ill.	40.1	Orleans Parish, La.	2783.9	Thorton, Ill.	24.4
10	Indianapolis, Ind.	4643.0	Merced Union, Cal.	40.0	Indianapolis, Ind.	2670.6	Monmouth, N.J.	23.8
11	Prince George Co., Md.	4438.0	No. Chicago, Ill.	38.0	Prince George Co., Md.	2455.4	Lockport, Ill.	23.7
12	Caddo Parish, La.	4262.0	Oroville Union, Cal.	37.0	Dade Co., Fla.	2413.0	Delano Union, Cal.	23.2
13	Jefferson Parish, La.	4014.0	Millville, N.J.	36.5	Washington, D.C.	2288.5	Central Union, Cal.	23.1
14	East Baton Rouge Pr., La.	3960.0	Monmouth, N.J.	35.2	Jefferson Parish, La.	2236.5	Merced Union, Cal.	22.5
15	Dade Co., Fla.	3634.0	Ewing, N.J.	35.0	East Baton Rouge Pr., La.	2186.0	Roseville, Cal.	21.5
16	Atlanta, Ga.	3354.0	Bremen, Ill.	34.8	Compton, Cal.	2002.7	Ossining, N.Y.	20.0
17	Richland Co., S.C.	2018.0	Delano Union, Cal.	33.6	Hillsborough, Co., Fla.	1893.4	Asbury Park, N.J.	19.7
18	Richmond, Cal.	3011.0	So. Gloucester Co., N.J.	33.2	Rinellas Co., Fla.	1824.3	Sweetwater Union, Cal.	19.7
19	Norfolk, Va.	2882.0	Henderson, Ky.	33.0	San Diego, Cal.	1707.6	Auburn, Ala.	19.6
20	Hillsborough Co., Fla.	2850.0	Sweetwater Union, Cal.	32.2	Caddo Parish, La.	1673.0	Tyrrell Co., N.C.	18.9

Appendix B

TABLE 6

Twenty Worst Districts in the United States for Spanish Surnamed Students

Elementary and Secondary Combined

<u>Rank</u>	<u>District Name</u>	<u>Number Susp.</u>	<u>District Name</u>	<u>Percent Susp.</u>	<u>District Name</u>	<u>Excess Number Susp.</u>	<u>District Name</u>	<u>Percent Above White Rate</u>
1	Denver, Col.	1497.0	Columbia Co., Ga.	100.0	New York City, N.Y.	661.5	Columbia Co., Ga.	97.0
2	El Paso, Tex.	1369.0	Zion-Benton, Ill.	60.0	Albuquerque, N.M.	551.8	Zion-Benton, Ill.	50.8
3	Houston, Tex.	1360.0	So. Gloucester Co., N.J.	44.4	El Paso, Tex.	486.9	So. Gloucester Co., N.J.	26.2
4	Albuquerque, N.M.	1279.0	Roseville Union, Cal.	31.8	Bridgeport, Conn.	460.9	Newport, R.I.	19.3
5	Dallas, Tex.	1086.0	No. Chicago, Ill.	31.7	San Diego, Cal.	425.4	No. Chicago, Ill.	18.7
6	East Side Union, Cal.	985.0	Central Union, Cal.	30.1	Denver, Col.	423.1	Essex Co., N.J.	17.2
7	New York City, N.Y.	975.0	Lower Camden Co., N.J.	29.5	Dallas, Tex.	389.2	Asbury Park, N.J.	13.7
8	Sweetwater Union, Cal.	947.0	Fremont, Ohio	29.2	Kouston, Tex.	372.2	Huntington, N.Y.	13.6
9	Dade Co., Fla.	939.0	Lemoore Union, Cal.	29.0	Pueblo City, Col.	363.2	Ukiah, Cal.	12.7
10	San Diego, Cal.	891.0	Merced Union, Cal.	25.3	East Side Union, Cal.	353.6	East Ramapo, N.Y.	12.0
11	Corpus Christi, Tex.	860.0	Asbury Park, N.J.	25.3	Sacramento, Cal.	271.8	Fremont, Ohio	11.8
12	Pueblo City, Col.	827.0	Gridley Union, Cal.	25.0	Sweetwater Union, Cal.	244.6	Houston Co., Ga.	10.6
13	San Antonio, Tex.	722.0	Joliet, Ill.	24.8	Milwaukee, Wis.	216.8	Penns Grove, N.J.	10.2
14	Bridgeport, Conn.	720.0	Newport, R.I.	23.1	Norwalk-LaMiranda, Cal.	178.0	Somerville, N.J.	9.9
15	Bassett, Cal.	704.0	Proviso, Ill.	22.4	Colorado Springs, Col.	172.6	Roseville Union, Cal.	9.7
16	Montebello, Cal.	695.0	Healdsburg Union, Cal.	22.3	Alhambra City, Cal.	171.8	Sandusky, Ohio	9.6
17	Sacramento, Cal.	564.0	Bloom, Ill.	21.6	Clovis, N.M.	165.9	Escambia, Fla.	9.5
18	Fresno, Cal.	549.0	Kerman Union, Cal.	21.1	San Jose, Cal.	159.2	Mendota Union, Cal.	9.4
19	Austin, Tex.	514.0	Oroville Union, Cal.	19.6	Austin, Tex.	157.2	Muscogee Co., Ga.	9.1
20	Edgewood, Tex.	485.0	Essex Co., N.J.	19.2	Richmond, Cal.	151.9	Bridgeport, Conn.	9.0

Appendix B

TABLE 7

Twenty Worst Districts in the United States for American Indian StudentsElementary and Secondary Combined

Rank	District Name	Number Susp.	District Name	Percent Susp.	District Name	Excess Number Susp.	District Name	Percent Above White Rate
1	Memphis, Tenn.	379.0	Memphis, Tenn.	--*	Memphis, Tenn.	378.0	Memphis, Tenn.	--*
2	Gallup, N.M.	191.0	Berkeley Co., S.C.	--*	Henry Co., Ga.	92.0	Berkeley Co., S.C.	--*
3	Minneapolis, Minn.	165.0	Oroville, Union, Cal.	49.3	Minneapolis, Minn.	91.8	Centinella Valley, Cal.	41.0
4	Oklahoma City, Okla.	151.0	Centinella Valley, Cal.	48.3	Oklahoma City, Okla.	62.4	Clovis, Cal.	29.3
5	Robeson Co., N.C.	119.0	Clovis, Cal.	36.4	Shawano, Wis.	50.3	Lakeside Union, Cal.	20.7
6	Window Rock, Ari.	114.0	Richmond, Cal.	31.4	Seattle, Wash.	37.9	Richmond, Cal.	18.5
7	Henry Co., Ga.	92.0	Lakeside Union, Cal.	23.3	Milwaukee, Wis.	35.5	Oroville, Union, Cal.	17.4
8	Shawano, Wis.	78.0	East Side Union, Cal.	20.4	Montezuma-Cortez, Col.	29.6	Escondido Union, Cal.	9.3
9	Milwaukee, Wis.	73.0	Santa Rosa, Cal.	16.3	Clovis, Cal.	29.0	Park Rapids, Minn.	9.2
10	Tulsa, Okla.	59.0	Sacramento, Cal.	12.5	Red Springs, N.C.	25.0	American Falls, Ida.	8.7
11	Seattle, Wash.	56.0	Lakeport, Cal.	11.9	San Juan Co., Utah	20.1	East Side Union, Cal.	8.4
12	Greater Anchorage, Alas.	52.0	Del Norte Co., Cal.	11.4	Del Norte Co., Cal.	19.8	Lakeport, Cal.	8.1
13	North Star, Alas.	51.0	Escondido Union, Cal.	11.1	Park Rapids, Minn.	19.5	Sacramento, Cal.	7.8
14	Central, N.M.	48.0	Grand Coulee Dam, Wash.	10.9	Klamath Trinity, Cal.	18.4	San Diego, Cal.	7.6
15	San Juan Co., Utah	46.0	San Diego, Cal.	10.9	St. Paul, Minn.	18.3	Montezuma-Cortez, Col.	7.0
16	Montezuma-Cortez, Col.	42.0	Park Rapids, Minn.	10.9	North Star, Alas.	18.2	Ukiah, Cal.	6.7
17	Albuquerque, N.M.	41.0	Southampton, N.Y.	10.8	San Diego, Cal.	16.7	Santa Rosa, Cal.	6.7
18	Del Norte Co., Cal.	39.0	Ukiah, Cal.	10.6	Ukiah, Cal.	16.5	Glendale, Cal.	6.3
19	Red Springs, N.C.	38.0	Collidge, Ari.	10.4	Espanola, N.M.	16.2	Grand Coulee Dam, Wash.	6.2
20	Clovis, Cal.	36.0	Oroville City, Cal.	10.2	Elko Co., Nev.	15.3	Southampton, N.Y.	6.1

*More students reported suspended during 1972-73 than were enrolled in October, 1972.

Appendix B

TABLE 8

Twenty Worst Districts in the United States for Asian American Students
Elementary and Secondary Combined

<u>Rank</u>	<u>District Name</u>	<u>Number Susp.</u>	<u>District Name</u>	<u>Percent Susp.</u>	<u>District Name</u>	<u>Excess Number Susp.</u>	<u>District Name</u>	<u>Percent Above White Rate</u>
1	San Francisco, Cal.	199.0	Cairo, Ill.	--*	Norfolk, Va.	49.0	Cairo, Ill.	--*
2	Oakland, Cal.	100.0	Oklahoma City, Okla.	37.3	Cairo, Ill.	34.8	Oklahoma City, Okla.	31.4
3	Sacramento, Cal.	68.0	Norfolk, Va.	23.3	Oxnard Union, Cal.	21.1	Norfolk, Va.	17.1
4	Norfolk, Va.	67.0	Oxnard Union, Cal.	19.5	Oklahoma City, Okla.	21.0	Gary, Ind.	15.4
5	Jefferson Union, Cal.	59.0	Gary, Ind.	18.0			Oxnard Union, Cal.	8.1
6	Long Beach, Cal.	55.0	Jefferson Union, Cal.	17.7			Delano Union, Cal.	5.6
7	San Diego, Cal.	53.0	Delano Union, Cal.	16.0				
8	Oxnard Union, Cal.	51.0	Pittsburg, Cal.	12.7				
9	Richmond, Cal.	51.0	Sweetwater Union, Cal.	11.9				
10	Sweetwater Union, Cal.	43.0						
11	Cairo, Ill.	35.0						
12	Etna Union, Cal.	29.0						
13	Monterey, Cal.	28.0						
14	Delano Union, Cal.	25.0						
15	Oklahoma City, Okla.	25.0						
16	Salinas Union, Cal.	24.0						
17	Pittsburg, Cal.	21.0						

More students reported suspended during 1972-73 than were enrolled in October, 1972.

TABLE 9

SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN SUSPENDED AT LEAST ONCE¹

AREAS SURVEYED		Number of School Age (6-17) Children Surveyed	Children Ages 6-17 Suspended At Least Once				Children Ages 12-17 Suspended At Least Once						
			Number Suspended	% of All Children Surveyed (6-17)	Number of Suspensions	% Female Suspended	% Male Suspended	Number Suspended	% of All Children Surveyed (12-17)	Number of Suspensions	% Female Suspended	% Male Suspended	
ALABAMA													
Autauga County, Beat 10	Total	370	10	2.7	10	1.6	4.0	9	4.6	9	2.9	6.5	
	Black	137	5	3.6	5	1.4	6.3	5	6.4	5	2.3	11.8	
	White	233	5	2.1	5	1.7	2.7	4	3.4	4	3.3	3.4	
Montgomery Census Tract 3	Total	187	5	2.7	11	2.2	3.1	4	3.9	9	2.1	5.5	
	Black	82	3	3.7	9	2.5	4.8	2	4.2	7	0	7.8	
	White	104	2	1.9	2	2.0	1.8	2	3.8	2	4.0	3.6	
	Oriental	1	0	0	0	—*	0	0	0	—*	0	0	
Montgomery-Northgate Housing Project		Total (All Black)	102	3	2.9	5	0	5.5	3	5.3	5	0	8.8
COLORADO													
Denver Census Tract 101	Total	101	2	2.0	6	0	4.1	2	4.1	6	0	9.5	
	Mexican American	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	White	89	2	2.2	6	0	4.4	2	4.4	6	0	10.0	
Denver Census Tract 8	Total	313	22	7.0	41	4.0	9.8	16	10.3	32	5.2	15.4	
	Black	70	10	14.3	12	12.0	15.6	5	17.2	6	10.0	21.1	
	Mexican American	210	9	4.3	24	1.9	6.7	8	7.5	21	3.6	11.8	
	White	29	3	10.3	5	5.9	16.7	3	17.6	5	10.0	28.6	
	American Indian	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Denver Census Tract 4101	Total	153	19	12.4	50	18.1	7.4	16	25.0	45	30.0	19.4	
	Black	147	18	12.2	49	18.6	6.5	15	24.6	44	31.3	17.2	
	White	3	1	33.3	1	—*	33.3	1	50.0	1	—*	50.0	
	Oriental	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
GEORGIA													
Hancock County Militia Districts 102 & 113	Total	356	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Black	277	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	White	79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Macon Census Tract 127	Total	223	7	3.1	8	2.9	3.4	7	6.5	8	5.7	7.3	
	Black	185	7	3.8	8	3.7	3.9	7	7.8	8	7.1	8.3	
	White	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
IOWA													
Davenport Census Tract 107	Total	119	7	5.9	10	8.6	3.3	6	9.8	8	13.3	6.5	
	Black	76	6	7.9	9	12.8	2.7	5	12.8	7	18.2	5.9	
	Mexican American	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	White	37	1	2.7	1	0	4.5	1	5.3	1	0	8.3	
Davenport Census Tract 123	Total	122	1	0.8	2	0	1.6	1	1.6	2	0	3.0	
	Black	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	White	121	1	0.8	2	0	1.6	1	1.6	2	0	3.0	
KENTUCKY													
Floyd County Mud Creek Area	Total (All White)	834	2	0.2	2	0.2	0.2	2	0.5	2	0.5	0.5	

MAINE												
Portland Census Tract 11	Total (All White)	196	13	6.6	14	5.4	7.8	13	12.7	14	11.1	14.0
Portland Census Tract 12	Total (All White)	64	5	7.8	5	3.1	12.5	5	14.7	5	5.9	23.5
Portland Census Tract 19	Total (All White)	223	2	0.9	2	1.0	0.8	2	1.5	2	1.7	1.4
Portland-Bayside Last Housing Project	Total (All White)	66	2	3.0	4	0	6.5	2	8.0	4	0	16.7
Portland-Riverton Housing Project	Total Black	120	8	6.7	15	6.3	7.0	6	10.0	13	9.1	11.1
	White	3	0	0	0	0	0	—	—	—	—	—
		117	8	6.8	15	6.5	7.3	6	10.0	13	9.1	11.1
MASSACHUSETTS												
Cambridge Census Tract 3524	Total Black	162	3	1.9	6	0	3.6	3	4.3	6	0	8.3
	Puerto Rican	58	2	3.4	5	0	6.1	2	7.4	5	0	12.5
	Portuguese	5	0	0	0	0	0	—	—	—	—	—
	White	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—
		96	1	1.0	1	0	2.2	1	2.4	1	0	5.0
Cambridge Census Tract 3527	Total Black	142	1	0.7	2	0	1.4	1	1.3	2	0	2.5
	Puerto Rican	19	1	5.3	2	0	9.1	1	11.1	2	0	14.3
	Portuguese	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	White	90	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Holbrook Census Tract 8114	Total Black	141	18	5.3	38	3.3	6.8	14	8.0	34	5.2	10.2
	Puerto Rican	14	1	7.1	1	0	10.0	1	9.1	1	0	11.1
	Portuguese	160	8	5.0	22	3.1	6.3	7	9.9	21	6.5	12.5
	White	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		159	9	5.7	15	3.9	7.2	6	6.7	12	4.8	8.3
New Bedford Census Tract 6510	Total Black	272	11	4.0	21	2.7	5.6	11	8.3	21	5.5	11.7
	Puerto Rican	54	7	13.0	17	9.7	17.4	7	25.9	17	18.8	36.4
	Portuguese	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	White	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		184	4	2.2	4	1.0	3.4	4	4.7	4	2.2	7.5
New Bedford Census Tract 6526	Total Black	359	11	3.1	19	2.3	3.8	11	6.5	19	5.1	7.7
	Puerto Rican	26	4	15.4	6	15.4	15.4	4	28.6	6	33.3	25.0
	Portuguese	51	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	White	193	2	1.0	4	0	2.0	2	2.0	4	0	4.1
		89	5	5.6	9	4.7	6.5	5	12.8	9	13.3	12.5
Somerville Census Tract 3512	Total Black	378	1	0.3	2	0.5	0	1	0.5	2	1.0	0
	Puerto Rican	3	0	0	0	0	0	—	—	—	—	—
	Portuguese	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—
	White	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—
	Oriental	310	1	0.3	2	0.6	0	1	0.6	2	1.1	0
		1	0	0	0	0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Springfield Census Tract 8008	Total Black	366	19	5.2	34	2.9	7.1	17	9.5	32	4.5	14.4
	Puerto Rican	35	2	6.7	4	0	12.5	2	11.1	4	0	25.0
	White	305	16	5.2	29	3.5	6.7	15	10.2	28	5.6	14.5
		26	1	3.8	1	0	9.1	0	0	0	0	0
Springfield Census Tract 8018	Total Black	360	24	6.7	35	3.9	9.1	22	13.0	33	8.5	17.2
	Puerto Rican	287	18	6.1	23	5.0	7.4	16	11.8	21	10.8	12.7
	White	50	2	4.0	6	0	8.7	2	11.8	6	0	22.2
		23	4	17.4	6	0	36.4	4	25.0	6	0	57.1
MISSISSIPPI												
Canton-Joe Prichard Homes Housing Project	Total (All Black)	161	16	9.9	26	6.8	12.6	14	15.4	22	10.4	20.9

Table 9 (cont.)

AREAS SURVEYED		Number of School-Age (6-17) Children Surveyed	Number Suspended	Children Ages 6-17 Suspended At Least Once				Number Suspended	Children Ages 12-17 Suspended At Least Once				
				% of All Children Surveyed (6-17)	Number of Suspensions	% Female Suspended	% Male Suspended		% of All Children Surveyed (12-17)	Number of Suspensions	% Female Suspended	% Male Suspended	
SOUTH CAROLINA													
Columbia Census Tract 5	Total	225	26	11.6	71	6.2	17.0	24	20.9	68	11.1	32.7	
	Black	218	26	11.9	71	6.4	17.6	24	21.6	68	11.3	34.7	
	White	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Columbia Census Tract 22	Total	75	3	4.0	16	0	11.1	3	7.5	16	0	20.0	
	Black	39	3	7.7	16	0	21.4	3	14.3	16	0	30.0	
	White	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Sumter County Precinct 2	Total	222	17	7.7	24	4.5	10.9	17	14.3	24	7.8	21.8	
	Black	96	12	12.5	18	6.3	18.8	12	22.2	18	10.3	36.0	
	White	126	5	4.0	6	3.1	4.8	5	7.7	6	5.7	10.0	
Sumter County Precincts 1 and 26B	Total	398	45	11.3	108	11.5	11.1	41	17.4	95	16.7	18.3	
	Black	391	45	11.5	108	11.7	11.3	41	17.6	95	16.9	18.3	
	White	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	
WASHINGTON, D.C.													
Census Tract 7404	Total	423	27	5.7	36	4.4	6.9	24	10.3	31	8.5	11.9	
	Black	471	27	5.7	36	4.5	6.9	24	10.4	31	8.6	11.9	
	White	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	
Total — Black		2,952	216	7.3	430	6.4	8.2	193	12.8	388	10.9	14.8	
Total — Mexican American		228	9	3.9	24	1.7	6.3	8	7.1	27	3.4	11.1	
Total — Puerto Rican		580	26	4.5	57	2.7	6.0	24	9.4	55	5.1	13.0	
Total — Portuguese		326	2	0.6	4	0	1.2	2	1.2	4	0	2.7	
Total — White		3,388	77	2.3	108	1.5	3.1	70	4.1	101	2.6	5.5	
Total — American Indian		4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total — Oriental		5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
GRAND TOTAL: ²		7,483	330	4.4	623	3.4	5.4	297	7.9	569	5.9	9.8	

*None surveyed.

¹ Survey data gathered between July 1973 and March 1974. See Appendix 1 for further discussion.² Of the 330 children suspended 126 were female and 204 were male. Of the 126 females suspended, 92 were black, 2 were Mexican American, 7 were Puerto Rican, and 25 were white. Of the 185 males, suspended, 124 were black, 9 were Mexican American, 19 were Puerto Rican, 2 were

Portuguese, and 52 were white.

Of the 297 children between the ages of 12 and 17 suspended, 112 were female and 185 male. Of the 112 females suspended, 81 were black, 2 were Mexican American, 6 were Puerto Rican, and 23 were white. Of the 185 males suspended, 112 were black, 6 were Mexican American, 18 were Puerto Rican, 2 were Portuguese, and 47 were white.

Appendix C
CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND
of The WASHINGTON RESEARCH PROJECT, Inc.
1744 CAMBRIDGE STREET
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

(617) 492-4350

December 19, 1974

Peter, Holmes, Director
Office for Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Peter:

The Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project has just completed a study on Children Out of School in America. The report contains (1) the results of our own survey of 8,500 households in nine states and the District of Columbia; (2) our analysis of 1970 U. S. Census data on nonenrollment; (3) our analysis of data submitted to your Office for Civil Rights (OCR) from school districts in five states on school suspensions and expulsions as well as the school districts in our survey who reported to you; and (4) our analysis of data submitted to OCR from 505 school districts in five states on children enrolled in educable mentally retarded (EMR) classes and from the districts in our survey.

Subsequently, we were able to obtain with the cooperation of your office, which we greatly appreciate, the unedited 49-state data reported to you on school suspensions and on special education placement. While these latter data are not included in this first report, we have now analyzed the national school discipline data. Our detailed analysis of your suspension data covering more than 2,800 school districts and 24,188,681 children will be set forth in a subsequent report on school discipline policies and practices.

However, we wanted to share with you some of our key findings in the school discipline area at this time, particularly our concerns about the strikingly disproportionate impact of disciplinary exclusions on minority children which require your immediate and comprehensive action. We also wanted to share with you our concerns about OCR's data collection procedures and quality and to make specific recommendations for their improvement. While we have had a number of communications regarding OCR's survey questionnaire and scope, we know now with much greater specificity how your data might be improved in order to ensure an effective compliance program. Most importantly, we wanted to set forth our views on the kind of compliance standards that must be adopted and enforced by OCR if thousands upon thousands of children are not to be lost to the educational process because of racially discriminatory or otherwise arbitrary and unnecessary school suspensions.*

* At a later date, we will share with you the problems we have identified in the racially disproportionate assignment of minority children to certain types of special education classes, particularly classes for the mentally retarded. Chapter 4 of our report points out that Black children are twice as likely to end up in mentally retarded classes as white children. In some districts it is as high as 10 times as likely. We believe that, in large part, the attitudes and processes that result in minority children being placed in these classes are the same as those resulting in their disproportionate victimization by school disciplinary devices.

National Office: 1743 R STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009 (202) 462-1470

What We FoundOCR Suspension Data

School suspensions are rampant all over America and deprive hundreds of thousands of school children annually of needed education. The Children's Defense Fund's analysis of suspension data submitted to your Office for over 2,800 school districts reveals that during the 1972-73 school year, at least 1,012,347 children were suspended at least once for over 4,062,408 school days or 11,130 school years.

Among secondary school children and among minority children, schooling deprivation through suspension is especially acute. Eight percent of all secondary school children in these districts were suspended at least once. While 6 percent of white secondary school children were suspended, 12 percent of the Black secondary school children were suspended. At the secondary school level and overall, Black school children were suspended almost twice as much as white school children -- 3.1 percent versus 6 percent.

In our view, even these figures substantially understate the suspension problem. Many districts underreport suspensions or call them by other names, such as voluntary dismissal, cooling off periods, etc. For example, the city of Los Angeles reported zero suspensions. Chicago and New York failed to give an ethnic breakdown of the more than 50,000 children they admitted suspending. Moreover, these figures only represent instances where children were suspended at least once. We found, for example, that of the children suspended in our survey, 40 percent were suspended more than once.

CDF Suspension Data*

Our survey corroborates OCR's data regarding the disproportionate suspension of minority students. At the secondary school level, Black students in our survey were suspended more than three times as often as white students -- 12.8 percent compared with 4.1 percent.

In eight areas we surveyed, over 15 percent of the Black secondary school students were suspended, and in six areas over 20 percent of the Black secondary school-age males were suspended. In three areas, over 30 percent of the Black males were suspended: New Bedford, Massachusetts Census Tract 6510 with 36 percent; Sumter County, South Carolina Precinct 2 with 36 percent; and Columbia, South Carolina Census Tract 5 with 35 percent. In two areas, over 30 percent of the Black secondary school-age females were suspended: Denver Census Tract 41.01 with 31 percent; and New Bedford Census Tract 6526 with 33 percent.

* The use of expulsion does not appear in OCR data to be as striking as the suspension problem. However, we found in our survey that school officials use devices tantamount to expulsion, for example "voluntary withdrawals" but do not report them as expulsions on their records or to OCR.

The next highest suspension rates at all levels were among Puerto Rican and Mexican-American school children: 4.5 percent and 3.9 percent. At the secondary school level, 9 percent of the Puerto Rican and 7.1 percent of the Mexican-American children in our survey were suspended.

Frequency and Duration of Suspension

In our own survey we were able to go beyond existing OCR data by examining the frequency of suspensions. Among students suspended at all, 24 percent were suspended three or more times, 40 percent were suspended twice and 60 percent were suspended once. Black students were more frequently the victims of multiple suspensions than were white students. 42 percent of Black students had been multiply suspended versus 27 percent of white students.

While a discriminatory pattern seems apparent from the frequency with which minority students are suspended, in our survey we found no apparent racial pattern in the duration of suspensions. Our analysis of OCR data, however, shows that Black students are suspended 25 percent longer than white students: an average of 4.5 days compared to 3.5 days.

Reasons for Suspensions

OCR data does not provide reasons for suspensions. In our own survey, though, we found that 63.4 percent of all the suspensions were for offenses that were neither dangerous to persons nor to property; 24.5 percent related to truancy and tardiness. Only 3 percent of the children were suspended for destruction of school property, "criminal" activity, or the use of drugs or alcohol. In some surveyed areas the percentage of students suspended who were suspended for truancy and tardiness was amazing:

Springfield, Massachusetts Census Tract 8008	50%
Columbia, South Carolina Census Tract 5	41%
New Bedford, Massachusetts Census Tract 6510	38%
Sumter County, South Carolina Precinct 2	35%
Denver, Colorado Census Tract 41101	31%
Holyoke, Massachusetts Census Tract 8112	30%

Frequently, suspensions are a unilateral process with little or no chance for children or their parents to be heard. Only 3.4 percent of the parents and children in our survey had been informed of a hearing and only 2 percent requested and were given any kind of hearing. And they are often imposed so arbitrarily that they lack all semblance of fairness or rationality.

Our report shows that the out-of-school problem in America is grave. That exclusion through suspension is a major contributing factor is evident.* That racial discrimination permeates their use is equally evident from the startling disproportions of minority children affected. Those of us who have long worked in minority communities have known about the racially discriminatory practices in this area. With confirmation from our analysis of OCR data and our survey, we believe there can no longer be any excuse for your office failing to take swift and effective action to weed it out. The educational futures of thousands of Black children are at stake. OCR data shows that at least 188,479 Black children would not have been suspended if they had been suspended at the white rates.

We think it is important to point out, however, that while Black and other minority children suffer most, suspension is not just a minority problem. Nearly 1/2 million white children's suspensions are shown by your data. Reform in this area for minority children would serve the broader purpose of helping all children remain in school which is our overriding goal.

OCR's Responsibility

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 mandates your office to eliminate racial discrimination in the area of school discipline. Because we feel the urgency of this problem, we are setting forth below specific steps and procedures CDF feels are required to alleviate the problems found by minority children in this area. They are neither radical nor impossible to implement. Some simply require more efficient use of existing resources and leadership from you and your staff. Others will require additional staff resources or a reallocation of existing staff resources.**

disciplined exceeds by 5 percent the percentage of "minority" students in the "base population" or if the percentage excess is over 2 percent and 75 percent of the individual schools within the system report totals indicating at least such an excess in their own disciplinary process.

The rationale behind the first criterion is obvious; the rationale of the second is not. CDF's statistician has compared this latter methodology to the process of assessing the fairness of the coin and the coin-flipper by studying the distribution of "heads" over a number of flips. Taken by itself a 2 percent excess might not be a powerful indicator of racial bias; however, if we break down the total figure into school-by-school components, and 15 out of 20 report at least such an excess, then we have the same reason to be curious about the fairness of the process as we would be if a coin turned up 15 heads in 20 flips. If no racial bias is present, we would expect whites to outnumber Blacks, adjusted for percentages, at least as often as the reverse.

OCR might argue that there are too many school districts which would meet the first part of the test and that OCR could not enforce such a program with its limited staff. This could also be pointed out with use of the Chi-Square test or any test. But the existence of this problem would be in itself evidence of the magnitude of apparent racial discrimination which demands correction so urgently. The answer should not be a do-nothing stance. Rather steps should be taken to begin correcting the problem, including requesting the requisite staff for OCR to act effectively. Moreover, OCR would have to establish priorities to guide its selection of districts for further review and termination hearings if necessary. Such priorities could relate to the percentage excess and/or to the absolute number of minority children apparently affected by discriminatory action.

For example, from OCR data, we have nationally ranked the 20 worst districts for total suspensions, white suspensions and black suspensions as well as by percentages of school populations, by race, and by average length of suspensions. Similar breakdowns have been done on a state-by-state basis. As our subsequent report will show, where to begin will be guided in large part by the data's indication of where the greatest suspension problems are.*

If the 5 percent and Chi-Square tests are potentially overinclusive, the 75 percent of schools tests may be underinclusive. The severest disciplinary problems and accompanying racial discrimination tend to arise at the junior and

* While we are aware that a comprehensive investigation is underway in New York City and contemplated in several other major cities, this single effort is no substitute for adoption of compliance standards for all districts. School officials should have a standard against which to judge their actions. Indeed, many school officials with leadership from you might voluntarily seek to comply, or at least pay closer attention to their discipline practices. Parents and children would have a framework against which to judge school officials' actions and to take action themselves. Moreover, the New York City investigation is not specifically on discipline. It has been in process for about two years and promises to hang on indefinitely. Such a compliance investigation in one place should not be permitted to block compliance efforts in the seven other regional offices.

senior high school levels. Relatively few elementary school children are disciplined though in absolute numbers the fact that 119,071 elementary school children were suspended in the 1972-73 school year for at least 483,517 school days warrants our dismay. Because most school systems have many more elementary schools than junior and senior high schools, the 75 percent test per se might not identify systems which are in fact discriminating. Therefore, one answer might be to use this test whenever 75 percent of the junior and senior high schools show the 2 percent excess. This latter approach may raise a potential problem in school systems with so few schools that the 75 percent index might be rendered unreliable. This could be remedied, however, by a written rule requiring a minimum number of eight schools in the sample before the 75 percent method would come into play.

Test II

In any school system with 5,000-15,000 students, it shall be prima facie evidence of racial discrimination in the disciplinary process either if the percentage of "minority" students disciplined relative to all students disciplined exceeds by 8 percent the percentage of "minority" students in the "base population" or if the percentage excess is over 5 percent and 75 percent of the individual schools within the system report totals indicating at least such an excess in their disciplinary process.

The earlier discussion of Test I pertains here as well. In addition, as the number of students decreases, the possibility of distorted results increases because of the emphasis on percentage differentials. But guidelines or priority rules could take into account such possible problems.

Test III

In any school system with under 5,000 students, it shall be prima facie evidence of racial discrimination in the disciplinary process either if the percentage of "minority" students disciplined relative to all students disciplined exceeds by 10 percent the percentage of "minority" students in the "base population" or if the percentage excess is over 5 percent and 75 percent of the individual schools within the system report totals indicating at least such an excess in their disciplinary process.

These four statistical tests focus on the school system. Though the 75 percent trigger depends on disaggregating the system into component school units, they are insufficient where a school system as a whole appears to be nondiscriminatory except for one or two schools. Possibly, complaints from parents and students can help identify such situations and organized parental activity remedy them. Student and parental input in the discipline process is an essential component that must be mandated. Indeed, they should be involved in the formulation of such local policies and procedures. Where the overall system appears to be making a bona fide effort to be fair, as measured by objective data, flexible and informal prodding by parents and by your office should be sufficient.

Data Problems

In relying on statistical tests to shift the burden of proving nondiscrimination onto individual school districts, OCR would have to institute major quality control standards and procedures in the National School Survey. We think the Survey is a useful instrument upon which to build a compliance program. However, substantial improvement must occur both in the kinds of questions asked on school discipline issues (see our letters to you of March 22, 1974 and April 12, 1974 recommending changes in the survey's questions) and in the timeliness of your data analysis.

Quality Control

In preparing our report of the incidence of students suspended from schools based on your data, we encountered an indefensible number of errors in the data. Poor workmanship by the contractor was evident throughout. Many of the mistakes were so blatant -- for example, New York City was listed twice! -- that it is apparent that no one had edited it for any possible use. We threw out over 40 districts because of the dubious nature of the data.

Attached is Paul Smith's (CDF's statistician) description of some of the data problems we confronted. A further technical memorandum will be prepared by him and forwarded to your data people. Most of the problems set forth in his memorandum are correctable and all are detectable. He would be happy to work with OCR staff and contractors to ensure that such problems are not repeated.

Survey Questions

In addition to the kinds of questions set forth in our letters in March and April, your questionnaire seeks no information from school districts on discipline policies, due process procedures, offenses, average length of punishment by race and by offense, etc. This information could and should be the basis for further tests to trigger compliance efforts. Alternatively, such information could be collected upon failure of school systems to meet the initial statistical tests. Such failure could then trigger a form letter follow-up survey seeking information on policies and procedures which might be answered within 30 days. Alternatively or additionally, on-site reviews might solicit such information. However, it is crucial that school systems be advised of the necessity of their maintaining certain kinds of information. Attachment II is our draft suggested letter/survey form incorporating such questions.

Procedural Due Process

Failure to accord due process is endemic in school districts throughout America. Discipline is still, for the large part, hidden in the recesses of principal and sometimes teacher discretion. Parents and children have little voice or protection as Chapter 5 of our report shows. This is not only unfair to students, but it makes it difficult to monitor discipline figures submitted by school systems. While fair procedures are not the sole answer to the rampant use of suspensions, they are a beginning threshold for judging the fairness and

validity of a school system's practices in this area. Even if there is agreement, for example, that students who "threaten" a teacher should be suspended, it will not be at all clear from looking at raw figures of students suspended for such an offense how many actually did so, unless one makes the entirely unjustified presumption that existing school procedures which lack elemental due process are impeccable in their fact-gathering and evaluating capacities. The U. S. Supreme Court has before it now the issue of whether constitutional due process requires a hearing in public school suspensions. The record in this case, Goss v. Lopez, reveals that the stated policy of the Columbus, Ohio school board is to accept a teacher's description of an incident as determinative, without giving a student any chance to offer his or her own story of what occurred. Regardless of the Court's decision, however, OCR has an independent obligation to encourage a system of fair procedures for purposes of Title VI.

We urge in our report that due process procedures prior to a student's exclusion from school is not only a necessary legal prerequisite but is an essential educational prerequisite. It is crucial that public school children believe schools are fair and just. They cannot do this unless in fact schools are fair and just.

Test IV

I propose another test, therefore, for establishing a case of prima facie discrimination which involves evaluation of procedures, to wit:

In the absence of procedures guaranteeing full due process to students prior to disciplinary exclusion (except where there is a clear and immediate danger of violence), including but not limited to written notice, confrontation and cross-examination, access to counsel or other advocate, and written decisions by impartial hearing officers, it shall be prima facie evidence of racial discrimination in the disciplinary process either if the percentage figure of "minority" students disciplined relative to all students disciplined exceeds at all (or alternatively by 2 percent) the percentage of "minority" students in the "base population" or if 75 percent of the individual schools within the system report totals indicating any such excess.

Test V

This test would attempt to look at a variety of indices that may indicate discrimination. Problems such as unequal levels of punishment or unequal kinds of offenses (certain offenses are only minority offenses) may also serve to exclude children unfairly. Information as to the kinds of offenses levied for what kinds of students and for what duration and/or severity would have to be elicited. We propose that it should constitute evidence of racial discrimination whenever the average punishment of minority offenders for given offenses exceeds the average punishment accorded non-minority offenders. It should also constitute evidence of discrimination if the average punishment for any given

December 19, 1974

offense has increased or if the kinds of offenses punishable have increased since the beginning of desegregation of a formerly segregated school system and if the percentage of minority students disciplined for any such offense exceeds their base percentage vis-a-vis the non-minority school population. If evidence of all these exist, such evidence should constitute a prima facie case of discrimination.

While this guideline will be useful mostly in systems that are currently or recently desegregating (Boston, for example, has suspended more than 1,500 pupils since September when its desegregation plan took effect), OCR should take care that future problems are alleviated by collecting data on these issues and monitoring school systems as desegregation proceeds.

By proposing these tests we do not intend in any way to hamper the complaint process for parents and children as a way to trigger investigation and response by you.

There remain other complex questions. But I hope that the discussion here can serve as the basis for a serious and continuing set of discussions with you in the near future. CDF and other groups long involved in ensuring equal educational opportunity are committed to seeing that something is done. I do not claim that CDF's suggestions are the last word on these complex issues. Indeed, I have tried to candidly point out some of the potential problems that are presented by our proposed tests. But I believe that these problems are soluble with reasonable effort.

The time is long overdue for a decision in this area. The nation and its children must end the educational and personal waste that is reflected in the thousands of educational lives lost now through disciplinary exclusion, many for unnecessary reasons and others by unfair means.

◦ Sincerely yours,

Marian Wright Edelman

/mr

Encls.

PROPOSED SURVEY FORM FOR SCHOOL DISTRICTS FAILING TO MEET PROPOSED STATISTICAL TESTS ON RACIAL/ETHNIC DISPROPORTIONS IN USE OF SUSPENSIONS AND/OR FOR PURPOSES OF ESTABLISHING A PRIMA FACIE FINDING OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION UNDER TEST IV

1. For each length of suspension which is permitted in your district, check the due process procedures which must be followed in the course of the suspension decision:

		Length of Suspension Period in Days							
	Indeter- minate*	1	2	3	4	5	6-9	10	over 10
Written notice of suspension to student:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Written notice of suspension to parent:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Right to a hearing:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Right to counsel or third-party advocate:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Right to summon and cross-examine witnesses:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Impartial hearing examiners:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Written hearing decision:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Appeal of hearing decision:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Check if suspensions for the indicated length in days are not allowed in your district:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

* A suspension is considered for purposes of this report to be indeterminate only if a student does not know the length of his or her suspension after all administrative procedures have been completed.

2. Check the due process procedures used in your school system when a student is expelled:

Written notice of expulsion to student _____

Written notice of expulsion to parent _____

Right to hearing _____

Right to counsel or third-party advocate _____

Right to cross-examine _____

Impartial hearing examiners _____

Written hearing decisions _____

Appeal of hearing decision _____

3. Does your school system publish and distribute written policies on suspensions and expulsions which include a list of offenses which may result in suspension or expulsion and the penalties for such offenses?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, check those persons who receive copies of the policies.

Students _____

Parents _____

Teachers _____

Principals _____

Other school officials _____

If no, do principals determine offenses which may result in suspension or expulsion?

Yes _____ No _____

If no, do teachers determine offenses which may result in suspension or expulsion?

Yes _____ No _____

4. If your system has adopted written policies on suspension and expulsion, were teachers, parents and students involved in their formulation?

Teachers - Yes _____

No _____

Parents - Yes _____

No _____

Students - Yes _____

No _____

5. Is there any provision for regular participation in disciplinary policies and practices of:

Teachers - Yes _____

No _____

Parents - Yes _____

No _____

Students - Yes _____

No _____

If yes, describe such provision for each group.

6. List below the types of disciplinary measures other than suspension and expulsion used in your school system to remove children from their regular classrooms for any period of time including but not limited to disciplinary transfers, in-school detention, etc.

7. Does your school system allow the use of voluntary or consensual withdrawals in lieu of suspension or expulsion?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, for what kinds of offenses or situations.

8. List below the offenses for which students may be suspended and the length of the suspensions. Please be as specific as possible. Define any broad categories of suspensions listed such as "violation of school rules", insubordination, "disruptive behavior," etc.

9. List below the offenses for which students may be expelled. Please be as specific as possible. Define any broad categories of expulsions listed such as "repeated violations of school rules," "repeated insubordination," "disruptive behavior," etc.

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11. Does your school district take steps prior to suspension or expulsion to solve the problem requiring exclusion?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If so, please indicate procedures followed:

Conference with child _____
 Conference with parent _____
 Referral for counselling _____
 Referral to diagnostic services _____
 In-school detention _____
 Other? _____

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

OF THE WASHINGTON RESEARCH PROJECT, Inc.
1763 R St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 483-1470

Cambridge, Massachusetts Office

1746 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02138
(617) 492-4350

MEMORANDUM

TO: Marian Wright Edelman

FROM: Paul Smith *Paul Smith*

RE: Office of Civil Rights 1972 and 1973 Elementary and
Secondary Survey Data Base on Magnetic Tape, Data
Set Names: LDMSOUT and LDMS73

I. How We Analyzed OCR Suspension Data

In preparing our report of the incidence of students suspended from schools, we made use of the data base for 1972-73 and for 1973-74 provided to the Children's Defense Fund by the Office of Civil Rights. Since the same data base will be used by the Office of Civil Rights for their own analyses, I will list some of the conditions we encountered in using the magnetic tapes and the documentation prepared by the Office of Civil Rights contractor.

Because the remainder of this memorandum is rather technical (and meant to be of use, primarily, to the Office's data processing specialists), I offer here a plain language summary of our experience.

1. The documentation that we received was incorrect with respect to the most basic properties of the data. It was incorrect about the physical length of data blocks on the data tape. It was incorrect about the sequence in which data for different school districts would appear on the data file. It was incorrect about the logical structure in which the data is arranged in the data base.
2. The contents of the data bases show evidence of either incomplete processing or of poor workmanship in the editing of school district reports onto the files. For example, there are two entries on the 1973 tape for New York City! (I can't see how even the federal government can overlook a second New York.) Georgia contains a "school district" named "CITY", and bearing OCR district code 2000037. It contains no children, but does contain invalid codes in some data fields.

3. The school suspension data collection format requires the matching of suspension figures reported on the 1973-74 reports to enrollments reported on the 1972-73 reports. It is obvious that the OCR school code was never designed for such matching across years. Since the grade structure of a school may change from one year to the next, even as simple a "split" as between elementary and secondary students requires that we match records school-by-school within district. We found 15,308 individual schools which had the same U.S.O.E. (OCR) school code within district, but which bore different names in the two years. If even a small fraction of 15,308 were anything other than spelling or name changes, we will have very inaccurate elementary/secondary breakdowns. In 8 cases we found two schools within a district which had different U.S.O.E. school codes but bore the same name. These are almost certainly errors of an undetermined sort and our checking for this condition was not exhaustive.
4. There were 47 school districts which were present in the 1973-74 data but which were not present in the 1972-73 data. Some of these are doubtless trash records left on file from the contractor's incomplete editing in 1973-74 (and so no matching 1972-73 data were expected). However, there were 84 schools reporting suspensions among the 47 districts, so clearly some of these districts did exist in the previous school year.
5. It is possible that there are two distinct districts, both named Pleasant Grove, Oklahoma (U.S.O.E./OCR district codes 4624330 and 4624360) but neither has a matching 1972-73 record. (This condition rather overtaxed the editing capacities of our programs!)
6. Lastly, even the most elementary editing on the reported numbers (and days) suspended was not carried out. The districts reported figures for five ethnicities, plus total. Over a thousand districts had totals which exceeded the sum of the five detail counts (which is logically possible if ethnic classification was not established); but almost 100 districts gave totals that were smaller than the sum of the five details (and that is not logically possible).

The following is an expression of opinion. The conditions described above (and in technical detail below), may ultimately derive in some instances from faulty preparation of forms by local school districts although many are the typical result of keypunching errors. The essential point is that, regardless of their origin, they are the conditions which any reputable data processing contractor (a) detects in post-file-construction validity edits; (b) corrects immediately where keypunching or programming flaws are the demonstrable source; (c) notifies the client where source documents are suspect. Further, reputable work will include providing the client with editing and updating programs, check totals that balance to source document counts, and accurate documentation. The fact that such conditions can be detected is demonstrated by the fact that we detected them. I cannot resist adding that OCR would have detected them, also, had they made routine provision to draw preliminary reports from all data bases immediately upon receipt from a contractor. Using the data prevents abusing the data.

I must add that the data processing staff of the Office of Civil Rights, and in particular, Ms. Barbara G. White of the Management Information Systems Branch, were very helpful and very competent. Indeed without their assistance, we might still be looking for another New York.

After our editing, we retained 2,862 school districts with 38,866 schools (in 1972-73), 20,618 of them reporting suspensions in 1973-74 for the school year 1972-73.

In order to be retained in our analysis, a district had to have data in each of the two reporting years, had to have real schools with non-zero enrollments (at least in 1972-73), and had to have its records unduplicated in either file. In each of the 652 districts where the numbers of schools or the grade structures of the schools had changed from 1972-73 to 1973-74, the district records were examined to see that there was no mismatch or other basic flaw in the data. We will doubtlessly have undercounted the number of suspensions, both because of the 84 schools with suspensions thrown out for lack of enrollment data, and because some schools with suspensions were closed in the subsequent year, and so filed no reports. It is reasonable to assume, also, that since disproportionately many of the ethnically unidentified students appear in large city reports (New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles) which contain higher than average concentrations of non-white students, we are also under-reporting the incidence of suspensions among non-white students.

In general, we have made use of only data as "clean" as possible (short of field reconfirmation of district reports), and have chosen to let the remaining biases understate the extent of suspensions among school children.

II. Basic Properties of the Datasets:

1. DCB information: The correct DCB's that will allow in the 1972-73 data set (DSN=LDMSOUT) and the 1973-74 data set (DSN=LDMS73) are as follows:

DSN=LDMSOUT, VOL=SER=045570,
DCB=(RECFM=VSB, LRECL=804, BLKSIZE=4024)

DSN=LDMS73, VOL=SER=038799,
DCB=(RECFM=VSB, LRECL=804, BLKSIZE=3220)

The documentation supplied us gave a block size of 4024 for the 1973-74 data set, LDMS73, and is wrong. I don't know whether the reblocking took place when the tape was copied, or whether the actual data base file supplied by the contractor is also at 3220 bytes, but I suggest that OCR check before using it.

2. For both files, the documentation directory specifies that the records are in "alphabetical order by state" but that the school districts are in "no particular order" within a state. Based on a telephone call to OCR, we were assured that the districts were in "alphabetical order" within state. On both files the districts are in strict ascending order by U.S.O.E. district code. The district code is a seven digit number whose first two digits indicate the state. There has been no editing on state name or district name in the data records, which are merely hand coded sections of the district's mailing address. Common sense requires that data file directories correctly describe the sequencing principle for a sequential data set. Without that information, we might have done several unnecessary (and very costly) full file sorts prior to matching across years. As it stands, the file contains many variant spellings for state names, and the district names are not necessarily those that would be used to sort to alphabetical order by district name within state.

At the very least, it ought to be possible to:

- a) provide OCR with a correct description of the file sequence of the data base, and
- b) edit the state names for consistency

From other indications to be described later, I suspect that the contractor made no provision for deleting a district record. The fudging about the file sequence may have come about because the contractor had to process by U.S.O.E. district code in order to match his file, but when a district name change occurred, he had to leave the original sequence (which was, nearly, alphabetical by district name within state) as it stood, since to reorder the file

by the new names would destroy the U.S.O.E. sequence. An example of such a situation is Sierra Vista, Arizona, U.S.O.E. district code 1201465. It precedes, say, Cartwright, Arizona, U.S.O.E. 1201680 both in the actual file sequence, and in U.S.O.E. district code order, but not alphabetically. I suggest a very simple remedy. Let the contractor place another sequence number on the district headers, which will give the strict alphabetical order for district names. This will correspond to U.S.O.E. number in all but a few districts, primarily those which have undergone a name change, or which are newly assigned U.S.O.E. codes. This number would be used to sort to district name order (usually within state code), and it would avoid (as the current U.S.O.E. code usually does) the problem that the alphabetical district name on file is not the correct one for sorting. An example of the latter difficulty is, say,

<u>Sort Order Desired</u>	<u>Actual Name on File</u>	<u>U.S.O.E. District Code</u>
Gateway Borough, Alaska	Gateway Borough	1100150
Greater Anchorage Borough	GTR ANCHORAGE	1100180
Greater Sitka Borough	GREATER SITKA	1100240

Note that the current U.S.O.E. district code gets the alphabetical order correct, while the actual name on file would place GRE ahead of GTR if sorted blindly. Since the assignment of unique alphabetical sequence numbers for district name would have to take place only once per district (not once per year) except when name changes occurred, and since the current U.S.O.E. code provides a good sequence for all except a tiny fraction of the districts, the idea might be practical. It would, of course, pay for itself many times over since all alphabetical reports by district could sort on the four bytes of numeric data instead of 32 bytes of alphabetically coded district name. And the contractor could continue to process in U.S.O.E. code order, making district name changes without resequencing the file. The cost to the contractor would be the programming needed to detect when a district name change occurred, so that a new alphabetical sort sequence number could be assigned - but then he ought to have been monitoring that right along.

3. My copy of the Directory prepared by the OCR contractor gives a "baby talk" walking tour through the wonders of a field-coded replacement-values-only data structure. It was a bit skimpy in offering warnings that trash district header records had been left in the file, and that these records did not contain all the necessary replacement values to, at least, zero out the data from the preceeding district's records. My personal favorite was U.S.O.E. code 2000037, district name "CITY" in Georgia, from the 1972-75 data base. In this

instance, OCR might be better off in getting the contractor to make his file resemble his documentation, rather than the reverse. I suspect that "CITY" was a keypunch error for data meant for Americus City, Georgia, but I have no way of being sure. In any case, is there any possible reason why the contractor cannot prohibit incomplete district headers from going on file?

III. Data Structure:

1. There are some district records which are in such disarray that it is impossible to know what happened. The best that I can do is to describe what is on file in each of the two years.

"CITY", Georgia, U.S.O.E. code 2000037. Present on the 1972-73 file, with no matching U.S.O.E. code on the 1973-74 file. The district contains no school records, and its header is incomplete.

FAIRFIELD TOWNSHIP, N.J., U.S.O.E. code 4005010 and FAIRFIELD TOWNSHIP, N.J., U.S.O.E. code 4005040 are both present on the 1973-74 file, with no match by U.S.O.E. code to the 1972-73 file, and both contain two school records.

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y., U.S.O.E. code 4220580 and NEW YORK CITY, N.Y., U.S.O.E. code 4222580. The first New York City is the real one, and it is present on both files. The second New York City has no schools and is present only on the 1972-73 file. It was the "coincidence" of the digit error in the U.S.O.E. code which suggested to me that the contractor has trouble (a) keypunching and (b) deleting faulty records from the file.

PLEASANT GROVE, OKLA., U.S.O.E. code 4624550 and PLEASANT GROVE, OKLA., U.S.O.E. code 4624560. These are both present on the 1973-74 file, and neither is present on the 1972-73 file. But the school data for these two districts are different, the first having one school and the second two schools.

My guess is that "CITY" Georgia, and the second New York are trash records, while the other two cases are erroneous duplications in some stage of completion. Has OCR considered establishing check counts of the number of districts (and perhaps even the number of schools) to which the contractor is expected to prove?

2. The next list of districts that I provide shows those districts that did have schools reporting in 1973-74, but which weren't on the 1972-73 file (that is, the whole district was missing in 1972-73). There is a good possibility that these districts are all legitimate, and are either newly created or reporting for the

first time. I have no way to check further on the validity of the data for these districts (we dropped them from our report), and I merely provide the list for OCR's use:

1001690 Guntersville City, Alabama
 1001710 Hale County, Alabama
 1002760 Midfield, Alabama
 1005510 Wilcox County, Alabama

 1201463 Sierra Vista, Arizona
 1204973 Mesa, Arizona

 1308670 Lakeside, Arkansas

 1409083 Coachella Valley, California
 1416500 Hanford Joint Union, California

 1505130 East Otero, Colorado

 2603540 Atchison, Kansas

 3604440 Box Elder, Montana
 3605035 Brockton, Montana
 3605160 Browning, Montana

 4018150 Woodbury, New Jersey

 4100230 Bloomfield, New Mexico
 4100420 Chama Valley, New Mexico
 4100510 Dulce, New Mexico
 4101230 Hatch Valley, New Mexico
 4101530 Las Vegas City, New Mexico
 4101860 Mora, New Mexico
 4102040 Penasco, New Mexico
 4102160 Questa, New Mexico
 4102400 Santa Rosa, New Mexico

 4302560 Lee County, North Carolina*

 4604980 Boley, Oklahoma
 4606060 Byng, Oklahoma
 4609780 Dewar, Oklahoma
 4617920 Hartshorne, Oklahoma
 4625050 Preston, Oklahoma
 4625200 Pryor, Oklahoma
 4626730 Salina, Oklahoma
 4628710 Stilwell, Oklahoma
 4632220 Weleetka, Oklahoma

*I do have some difficulty believing that Lee County, N.C. is either a new district, or has first attracted the attention of OCR in 1977-78.

5139540 Andes Central, South Dakota
 5175420 East Charles Mix, South Dakota

5312640 Cameron, Texas
 5326610 Lamesa, Texas
 5328620 Lyford, Texas
 5334410 Pawnee, Texas
 5338820 San Diego, Texas

5701920 Cusick, Washington

3. Because the data base for 1972-73 contained many districts added for that year only as part of special studies, I did not draw off the corresponding list of districts that did have 1972-73 records, but which did not have 1973-74 records. There were 5,194 districts that fell into this category. Of course, among these 5,194 are some which ought to have reported in 1973-74, but did not. In addition, there are surely some which will "match" by name (not by U.S.O.E. code) to some of our problem districts already listed. Since we had about two weeks and a budget of under \$600 for our whole report, something had to give - and the scan of these 5,194 districts for individual discrepancies was what gave.

4. We now come to the problem of matching schools within districts across years. I will first describe the problem. Each school record contains a school code that is assigned by the contractor each year. The documentation makes no promises that these codes have any connection from year to year. Based on a telephone call to OCR, we assumed that the school codes usually were the same from year to year (with 5 or 10 percent errors). We found that 15,708 school records carried the same school code number (within district) but had a differently spelled school campus name. Obviously most of these must be just nominal changes in spellings or abbreviations. Nonetheless, even a small percentage of true mismatches would, of course, throw off our split between elementary and secondary totals, although it would have no real effect upon our district totals.

We also found 8 schools which had the same name but which had different school code numbers in the two years. Further, our scan for this condition was strictly limited, and there is no way that I can guess how many times the condition occurred, but remained undetected by our programs. (In other words, we didn't read back and forth over the whole district list of schools looking for a name match when we found a code match failure; we only looked ahead or back one school.)

I have one other clue to present. There were 228 districts which had exactly the same number of schools in 1973-74 as in 1972-73, but where the school codes did not match for one or more schools. For these districts, the codes failed to match for 599 out of 3,110 individual schools, or a failure rate of 19.2 percent. That is just too high to be an occasional replacement campus or similar small change.

For our purpose, since we can trust the district totals, even if not the elementary/secondary breakdown, the problem is only a nuisance. But doesn't OCR ever study school-by-school changes in the racial composition (say) within districts? How do you carry out these studies with accuracy?

At the very least, the contractor should provide a "logic" edit to control the coding of school codes. Each school campus report ought to specify whether or not it is a new campus this year. If it is not, then the edit programs should force it to match an existing school campus record for that district by name, or issue a warning if it does not. The edit programs should also "balance" the numbers of schools from year to year, so that discrepancies could be detected - including failures to report previously existing schools. Notice that this procedure only requires very minor modifications to the reporting forms, since data on new campuses are gathered now. The edit programs would have to be new, since it is obvious that nothing resembling control over school campus identification exists today.

In case OCR contractors argue that it is impossible to match hand coded names because of the extensive variations in spellings and abbreviations that we non-electronic humans use, I offer the following. Every direct mail house has a "duplicate name finding" scan program routinely used to purge duplicate names from consolidated mailing lists, and school buildings are named for real people in the vast majority of districts. Such programs operate in two stages. In the first stage the program uses the duplicate name algorithm to "guess" which names input match names on file, and prints out a list of its matches (actually, only of its matches where the match was less than perfect, or nearly perfect).* People - who are still much better than

*OCR has school campus addresses as well as names, so the actual failure-to-match-correctly rate will be very low. Scanning a correctly matched school will surely take under 15 seconds per school. That means 40,000 schools can be scanned in 180 clerical man/hours, or for a cost of under \$1,000. Assuming a 5 percent miss-match rate, and 5 minutes per input correction (both way too high), another 180 hours and \$1,000 will make the corrections. That is roughly \$2,000 for the whole job annually, and doesn't count the intellectual stimulation to the OCR contractor gained in doing something right for a change.

computers at this task - just scan the computer's matching to see where they disagree. The second stage receives input coded only for those cases where the human scanners disagreed with the computer's tentative match-ups, and the input overrides the computer's assignments. The rest of the assignments go through as the computer first suggested. Of course, the programs do not just match letter-by-letter (as ours did due to lack of time), but first purge all expected abbreviations (EL, ELEM, SCH, SCHOOL, HS, GRADE, etc.) and then matches "by length in order with skips allowed", for example:

Thomas Alva	Edison
T	A Edison
Thomas A	Edison
T	Edison
TA	Edison
	Edison Falls
Thomas	

Are all allowed matches, with the last two obviously doubtful to a human, but not to a computer. The 5th, TA EDISON might be flagged by the computer as suspicious. although to a human it is an obviously allowed variant.

In summary, I have no idea whether OCR wants to improve the school-by-school matching, but it can be done. Although, unlike the other suggestions that I make, this one does have real and perhaps substantial costs attached (for the clerical scanning - the computer passes are very cheap.)

IV. Input Field Validity Checking:

f. The actual numbers on file for schools can err (or appear to err) for three reasons:

- a) The district just made a mistake.
- b) The contractor made keypunching errors, and either is not verifying or is allowing his verify operators to "red button" by a mismatch rather than to pull and repunch the data.
- c) Some very unusual condition occurring in the local district has resulted in the district coding (to the best of its ability, correctly) very odd figures. This is usually a case where the forms were just not flexible enough to cover the local circumstances, and is quite understandable.

It is important to OCR that they know - or at least have a chance to know, what happened in each instance. In some cases they may wish to have the local district correct the return, in some instances OCR may itself choose to "fix" the data, and in some instances OCR may want to leave the anomalies just as they are, but be in a position to recognize them later (and even inform helpless innocents like CDF about their existence). Some anomalies may attract field office attention from their very nature - for instance; Los Angeles' total absence of any suspensions. In any case, OCR has a right to be present as these conditions are handled, and that requires that the contractor produce a post-file creation validity edit for all testable fields on the data base.

2. I will list the kinds of anomalies that we detected among the very small proportion of the data fields that we used in our report.

a) Some districts coded total numbers of students suspended at least once, and total number of suspension days that were less than the sum of the detail for the five ethnically distinguished groups. It is logically possible for the total to exceed the sum of the detail (and it certainly does, often enough) when some suspensions have occurred among ethnically unidentified students. But there is no logical way for the opposite to happen.

b) It is logically possible for the number of students suspended at least once to exceed the number of students enrolled in October (many more students enroll during the year, and old and new are suspended with gay abandon during the year). But it is very difficult for me to believe that Spanish Surnamed students in Columbia County, Georgia; American Indian students in Memphis, Tennessee and Berkeley County, South Carolina; and American Asian students in Cairo, Illinois were all suspended at the rates indicated. Obviously, OCR needs a listing of such discrepancies, since the action to be taken in each case is a matter for judgment and perhaps field investigation.

c) It is also the case that OCR ought to receive discrepancy lists for districts that leave the ethnic composition of their suspensions largely unidentified: Phoenix Union High, Arizona; Bardstown, Kentucky; Baltimore City, Maryland; Downe Township, New Jersey; Roselle, New Jersey; Cumberland County, North Carolina; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Chicago, Illinois; Willingboro, New Jersey; North Bergen, New Jersey; Mount Healthy City, Ohio; New York City. (the first), New York; Waterbury, Connecticut; Peoria,

Illinois; Rudyard, Michigan; and Rochester, New York. All left more than 75 percent of their suspensions ethnically unidentified. It would certainly also be of value to pick out those districts with unusually low numbers of suspended students (like Los Angeles, California, with none) if only for praise (if merited).

Of course, the same kinds of validity reviews can be defined for most of the other fields in the data base. The cost of scanning the new files for discrepancies is very small, and the value to OCR is quite high.

The procedure that CDF used in its report, namely listing the 20 worst districts for a variety of test quantities, is a very simple and effective way of monitoring the condition of fields on file, as well as an excellent first look at the kind and scope of real conditions (once the keypunch errors have been corrected).

12/13/74

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

OF THE WASHINGTON RESEARCH PROJECT, INC.
1710 COLUMBIA STREET
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

(17, 4, 1)

February 14, 1975

Peter Holmes, Director
Office of Civil Rights
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Peter:

On December 19, 1974, we presented a letter to you regarding our findings on children out of school in America. We discussed specifically the great racial disparities in suspension rates which we found in our analysis of OCR suspension data and in our own survey data. We urged OCR (1) to draft and disseminate a specific compliance policy under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawing racial discrimination in disciplinary practices and (2) to design a specific compliance program in order to prevent and correct racial discrimination in school disciplinary practices. We set forth five specific tests OCR might adopt to achieve this latter goal. Three of these tests were statistical: (1) the Chi Square test; (2) the differential proportions test, and (3) the frequency test for schools within districts. We promised to prepare and forward to you our analysis of how these statistical tests would in fact operate. This letter is the result of our application of the various proposed tests to 14 school districts in the state of Connecticut.

Statistical tests alone cannot "prove" that a disparity in suspension rate is due to unjustified racial discrimination (though OCR could create an irrebuttable presumption at certain levels). What they can do is rule out as highly improbable some "innocent" explanations of apparent bias. The tests we propose are designed primarily to indicate which districts do not show evidence of racial discrimination: suspension rate disparities are explainable in terms of "innocent" factors such as the small size of the district or the relative infrequency of suspensions. Since OCR's resources are limited, eliminating districts for which such "innocent" explanations are tenable will allow more and more extensive reviews of the remaining districts.¹

¹Our tests show that an "innocent" explanation may exist not that it in fact does exist. It would not be legitimate to conclude that a district not selected for further review is proved to be free of racial discrimination in suspension practices. However, we believe that a uniform and clear OCR policy combined with procedures for parents to complain will adequately cover these districts. Moreover, neither our tests, nor any statistical tests, require OCR to seek any prior or external information which it may have respecting racial conditions in local districts.

Our proposed tests are very conservative. Nevertheless, our Connecticut calculations show that more districts will show a prima facie case of racial discrimination than OCR could adequately review. That is not a "fault" of the tests. It is rather a dramatic illustration of the extent of the racial problem in suspensions. Shifting the burden of proof to districts who meet the prima facie statistical tests for racial discrimination is crucial therefore to an effective compliance program.²

We recommend stratification of districts by size of enrollment: Large districts with enrollments over 15,000 students; medium districts with enrollments between 5,000 and 15,000 students; and small districts with enrollments under 5,000 students.³ This will help OCR acquire information about the problems of enforcement across a reasonable spectrum of districts.

Application of Our Proposed Tests: 15 Districts in Connecticut

We examined 15 Connecticut school districts with data available on the 1972-73 and 1973-74 data sets for suspensions during the 1972-73 school year. Connecticut was not selected because it showed severe suspension problems. It was selected because it was typical in the variety of problems it presents although only 15 districts reported to OCR. Since black student suspension rates display larger and more pervasive disparities vis-a-vis majority student suspension rates, and were enrolled in relatively large numbers in all 15 districts, we applied our tests only to black and white suspension rates.⁴

² OCR should select a smaller group of the most egregious districts for field reviews. This does not mean that no action can be taken before a review. Use of the followup survey we proposed earlier might be an appropriate step to take short of selected field visits. While the rankings and measures our tests provide may be useful in determining priorities, their use in decisions for on-site reviews cannot be determinative. Available resources and problems encountered when such reviews are mounted would have to be considered as would other information OCR may have about a district beyond the survey. Statistics are only an aid to and not a substitute for human judgment.

³ It would be reasonable to hold giant (over 200,000) metropolitan districts by themselves because of the time commitments that their review would entail. There are 8 such districts containing approximately 20% of the minority student population. OCR may also wish to review districts separately by states grouped according to regional offices, since both the resources available to each regional office and the type of suspension practices encountered vary.

⁴ Similar calculations would have to be made for each distinct minority group for which OCR collects data.

Table 1 shows the total enrollments of the 15 districts, the number of students enrolled in October, 1972, the number of students suspended during 1971-72, for white, black, other (including Spanish Surnamed American, American Indian, and Asian American students), and the total for each district.⁵

1. The Chi Square Test

A. Purpose

If we consider a hypothetical district in which white and black students in fact had exactly equal probabilities of being suspended, there would still be small chance fluctuations in the proportions of white and black enrollments suspended. Equal probabilities of suspensions are compatible with small variations in the actual ratios suspended. Stated simply, if we had a jar containing 90 percent blue candies and 10 percent green candies, in ten candies drawn from the jar strictly at random, we would not be surprised to find either no green candies or two or three green candies in the 10. If the differences between white and black suspension rates within a real district were so slight as to be explicable by just such small chance fluctuations then it would not be reasonable to conclude that the real disparity was itself prima facie evidence of racial discrimination.

The Chi Square test insures that no district is selected for review if the racial disparity in suspension rates is reasonably compatible with such chance fluctuations. The test does not prove that such disparities are in fact due to chance fluctuations.

B. How Chi Square Works

Chi Square's initial hypothesis, called the "null hypothesis", is one of equality, i.e., suspensions within a school district are carried out in a manner that white and black students have equal probabilities of suspension. It then calculates the likelihood that an observed disparity in suspension rates could have appeared in a district with equal probabilities of suspensions

⁵ Accurate ethnic reports are essential. Using the school district data we apply (1) the Chi Square test; (2) the differential proportion tests (DPT); (3) the frequency tests (FT) for schools within districts; and (4) ranking tests for determining relative severity among districts for whom a prima facie case of racial discrimination has been established. Some districts did not give ethnic identification for some of the students that they suspended. The number of students which the district reported as suspended at least once, but for which the district did not supply an ethnic identification, is shown in the column labelled "unidentified". It will be important in applying our formulae to recall that "unidentified" suspensions do exist necessitating slightly different methods of calculation.

When the likelihood is small, for example, less than 1 in 20, we can say that the disparity is unlikely to have resulted from chance fluctuations of equal suspension rates. When the likelihood is not small, more than 1 in 20, we can conclude that the observed disparity in suspension rates is compatible with chance fluctuations.⁶

We suggested Chi Square because legal precedent for its use exists. (See page 7 of our letter to you of December 19, 1974.) But there are other statistical tests which could perform the task of determining a prima facie case of racial discrimination equally well.

C. Chi Square Calculations

Chi Square involves five steps.⁷

- (1) Arranging the relevant data from the district for which the calculation is to be made.

⁶ In order to ascertain the likelihood of chance fluctuations as a compatible explanation for observed disparities in suspension rates, we compute a number, called the Chi Square value. This number can range from zero upward without limit. We then compare the calculated Chi Square value to a reference value set by statistical theory. If our observed Chi Square value exceeds the reference level, then we conclude that the observed disparities are "significantly" different from those that might be brought about by chance fluctuations. The word "significant" is used here in its statistical sense, which roughly, means "improbable" and does not have its usual meaning of "important".

The reference value that we propose be used is the one which would be exceeded by chance in data from a non-discriminating district only one time in twenty. This reference level is alternatively known as "the .05 level of significance" and as the "5 percent rejection region"; both are merely different ways of saying that non-discriminating districts will exceed this reference value by chance only one time in twenty.

Detailed statistical descriptions of the theory of Chi Square testing can be found in Kendall and Stuart (1967), chapter 33, volume II (reference (1)). Detailed descriptions of the distributional theory from which the values for the reference levels were selected can be found in Lancaster, chapter 11, reference (2); this citation also contains extensive material defining the power and performance characteristics of Chi Square tests in 2 by 2 tables, a small portion of which was used to develop the warnings offered in our section on calculation.

⁷ Each step is described in order, and some brief explanation is offered as to why each step is needed to insure that inferential validity is maintained. We show the calculations both in symbolic formulae and with real data from Stratford, Connecticut.

- (2) Making sure that the expected values of numbers suspended are not so low as to threaten the test's validity.
- (3) Applying the formula for the Chi Square value to the district data as arranged in step (1).
- (4) Comparing the calculated Chi Square value to the reference level defining the .05 level of significance and concluding that a prima facie case of discrimination exists if the calculated value exceeds the reference level.
- (5) After calculating and comparing the Chi Square values for all the districts in a set (the nation, an enforcement region, a state, etc.), checking to insure that the reference level (the .05 level of significance we propose) is operating conservatively despite the number of such tests carried out for all the districts in the set.

1. Arranging the Data for Calculation

For each district, the data from the Annual Civil Rights Survey Report should be arranged in the two-column by two-row format shown in Table II attached.

The only numbers entering the tabular array are those for either the white (majority) students or the black (minority) students. Black suspension rates are not compared to pooled suspension rates for other minority groups because a district ought not be allowed to justify suspending black students beyond white rates because it also suspends Spanish surnamed students beyond white rates. Thus each minority group should be compared separately to the majority rates.

2. Checking Expected Values by Cochran's Rule

The Chi Square reference value that we employ is an approximation to the exact value. Districts with very few students or with very low suspension rates may produce calculated Chi Square values for which the approximation is inaccurate. Cochran, reference (3), p. 417 et seq. shows that two simple restrictions will insure the approximation's accuracy. We recommend that both restrictions be used, and in a form somewhat stronger than Cochran proposed, so that no dispute regarding the accuracy of the approximation may arise:

First, Chi Square should not be applied to any district with fewer than 50 students (Cochran proposed 40) in the combined sum of the majority and minority enrollment (white and black enrollment in our Stratford example, n_{++} in general). Since the enrollment of whites and blacks combined is 9,670 in Stratford, over 40, the first restriction is inapplicable. In fact, it will apply to no district in Connecticut and to only a handful in the nation. It must nevertheless be checked to insure the soundness of the inference of prima facie discrimination.

The second restriction requires some calculation. For each of the four cells in the top of the data array shown in Table II, we define an "expected value", m_{ij} . That is, m_{ij} is the expected value for the cell in the i th row and the j th column of the array, where i and j can range over 1 and 2.)

$$m_{ij} = \frac{(n_{i+} \cdot n_{+j})}{n_{++}}$$

Table III shows the expected values calculated for each of the four cells in the Stratford table. The expected values are the number of students who would have been suspended, or not suspended, if both the number of students and the number of suspensions had been exactly equal and the district had in fact suspended black and white students at equal rates. In Stratford, the expected number of suspensions (under exactly equal rates) for white students is higher than the actual number of suspensions observed, while the expected value for the number of suspensions for black students is lower than the number observed.

Cochran's second restriction is that Chi Square should not be calculated for any district where the smallest of the four expected values does not exceed 10 (Cochran recommended 5). Since the lowest expected value in the Stratford data is 56.6, which exceeds 10, the second restriction does not apply. In Connecticut, the second restriction will apply to no district, and it will apply to only a handful of districts across the country. But as with the first restriction, it should be checked to insure the soundness of the inference of prima facie discrimination.⁸

In sum, these restrictions are meant to avoid singling out a district for further review when the statistical procedures might overestimate the extent of the discrimination in that district. They are not meant to imply that very small districts cannot discriminate but merely insure that the statistical procedures are applied where accuracy is verifiable.

3. Applying the Chi Square Formula

The calculated value of Chi Square, χ^2 , will be:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{n_{++} (\ln |n_{12} n_{21} - n_{11} n_{22}| - 1/2 n_{++})^2}{n_{1+} n_{2+} n_{+1} n_{+2}}$$

⁸For nonblack minority group students, both restrictions will come into play more frequently. They constitute small numbers in many districts. When either restriction does apply, OCR has two choices. It can conclude that the number of students in a district is too small to use statistical procedures for a prima facie finding or review. Or OCR can use Fisher's exact test (see Kendall and Stuart, pp. 550-552), which does not depend upon any approximation in setting reference levels.

Vertical bars indicate that the positive absolute difference should be used. When the quantity within bars is negative, it indicates discrimination against white students or favor of minority students is being tested. While this "reversal" discrimination will not appear frequently, it must be treated exactly as the more common situation of discrimination against minority group students. However, no statistically significant discrimination exists against white students in any of our 15 Connecticut districts. Thus, applying the formula above to Stratford's data, we have:⁹

$$\begin{aligned}
 \chi^2 &= 9670 \cdot (.78 \cdot 8268 - 679 \cdot 645 - 1/2 \cdot 9670)^2 \\
 &= 9670 \cdot (644904 - 437955 - 4835)^2 \\
 &= 9670 \cdot (202114)^2 \\
 &= 395020167191320 \\
 &\quad 43645102791021 \\
 &= 9.05
 \end{aligned}$$

The Chi Square value for Stratford is 9.05.

4. Comparing the Calculated Chi Square to the Reference Level

The calculated Chi Square value is compared to the following reference level:

Likelihood of observing a value as high or higher from chance variations:	(significance)	Reference Level
1 in 1000	.001	10.83
1 in 100	.01	6.64
1 in 20	.05	3.84
1 in 10	.1	2.71

⁹This formula uses Yates' correction for continuity by subtraction within the squared term in the numerator of the quantity $1/2 n_{++}$. This correction is required whenever a district "fixes" the number of suspensions in advance, for example, by having a policy of suspending no more than 10 percent of its student body. Most districts do not, in fact, establish any such limitation on the number of suspensions. As Plackett (1964, reference (4)) has shown, the correction is only needed whenever such a district policy exists. Since the effect of making the correction when it is not needed, for districts which do not limit their number of suspensions, is to make the test even more conservative, we recommend its use in every case. There is nothing in the Civil Rights Survey to indicate whether a limit on the number of students suspended exists for a district. Yates' correction was established in Yates (reference (5)) and further corrections, which are not needed in our case, are discussed in Fisher and Yates (pp. 4-8, reference (6)).

The greater the district's disparity from explainable chance variations, the greater its calculated Chi Square value. When the calculated Chi Square value exceeds a reference level, we can therefore conclude that the observed disparities in suspension rates are significant at the exceeded level.

In our example district, Stratford, Connecticut, the calculated Chi Square value is 9.05 which exceeds the .05 or 1 in 20 level of significance we recommend. Indeed, the observed Chi Square value exceeds a one-in-a-hundred level and almost reaches a one-in-a-thousand reference level. Yet of all the districts in Connecticut which show statistically significant amounts of discrimination, Stratford has the lowest calculated Chi Square value. Every other Connecticut district which displays a prima facie case of discrimination does so at a level higher than the one-in-a-thousand reference level.

Table IV shows the calculated Chi Square values for all 15 of the Connecticut districts reporting to OCR. Three of the districts, West Haven, Meriden, and Ansonia, are clearly shown to have disparities in suspension rates consistent with chance variations among equal probabilities of black and white suspensions. The remaining 12 districts are clearly shown to have prima facie racially discriminatory patterns in their suspension rates. As conservative as our reference level is, this determination does not depend upon using our 1 in 20 reference level as a criterion. The determination would have been the same if the 1-in-a-hundred level were used. If the 1-in-a-thousand level were used, only Stratford would not exceed the mark.¹⁰

That the choice of reference level has little effect on the determination of the selected districts is because Chi Square's ability to distinguish sharply between discriminating and non-discriminating districts is very great when the districts have several thousand enrolled students as most districts do. Moreover, Chi Square metaphorically obeys the Biblical injunction to let its "Aye be aye, nay be nay". Any reasonable choice of reference level will select more districts for possible subsequent review than OCR can handle. That is because the discriminating districts are discriminating so severely that no possible "random" explanations exist for the observed disparities in their suspension rates, regardless of the conservativeness of the selected reference level. These considerations should alleviate any OCR reticence to demand that the districts justify such disparities.

¹⁰ OCR might decide not to review 1-in-20 districts until the districts with the greatest disparities have been reviewed. Indeed, Stratford would not be reached until reviews have been made in the 12 districts that exceeded the 1-in-a-thousand level even though it exceeds the 1-in-a-hundred level. The reference levels shown above were taken from Table 6-12 of Meredith (reference (7)), but are widely available. In all cases the reference levels are those for two-by-two arrays of data, and thus correspond to a single degree of freedom.

5. Sensitivity for a Conservative Reference Level

A logical though not practical possibility exists that the reference level was set too low. There is a 1 in 20 likelihood that a non-discriminating district will show a pattern of disparity (through chance fluctuations) as high as the reference level. In a very large sample of completely fair districts, 5 percent of them would be selected for review if the .05 reference level were used. To be sure that the reference level has been set sufficiently high, OCR should always determine that the number of districts selected exceeds the reference level proportion of the number of districts tested by a substantial amount. For example, we tested 15 districts in Connecticut, using the .05 reference level. Five percent (the reference level) of 15 districts is less than one district, yet we observed 12 districts which exceeded the .05 reference level. Thus we selected substantially more districts than the reference level proportion of the number of districts tested. But, had we, for example, selected only two or three districts out of 15, using the .05 reference level, then we would shift to a higher reference level - perhaps the .01 or even .001 levels.

While this check should be made to preserve the validity of the inference of prima facie discrimination when carrying out multiple Chi Square tests on a number of districts, in practice, as the case of Connecticut shows, there will be no need for an upward adjustment in the choice of reference level because the degree of discrimination is so great and the proportion of districts discriminating is so large.

D. The Problem of Ethnically Unidentified Suspensions

Only two of the 15 districts in Connecticut failed to give ethnic identification for all of their suspended students. However, the problem occurs frequently enough throughout OCR's survey to be worth noting. This is especially important because some of the giant districts like New York City and Chicago, with large numbers of suspensions, failed to provide complete data.

Conceivably, though unlikely, the ethnically unidentified students may come disproportionately from the ethnic group with the lower suspension rate. The district may therefore be less discriminatory than would appear from their report. But OCR should not reward districts that submit incomplete returns by omitting those with incomplete data from compliance reviews. This will constitute mere license not to report accurately. We propose that the Chi Square

test be applied only to the ethnically categorized suspensions from districts with incomplete data. We also propose that any district that leaves a substantial proportion of its suspensions incompletely reported be singled out for review, regardless of the results of statistical tests. However, such districts should be invited to complete their returns within a time certain before the review decision is finalized.

We cannot stress enough the importance of making districts understand that failure to report completely or accurately is not to their advantage and that persistent or extensive under-reporting that we know now from our CDF survey occurs, is going to be investigated.

E. Districts That May Be Cheating: Low Chi Square Values

Chi Square has a less common use. Districts may file reports in which minority-majority suspension rates are so equal that they are inconsistent with random fluctuations. Chi Square's accuracy as an inferential procedure is not very great when used to discover improbably "equal" suspension rates, since it ignores the fact that only whole numbers are reported. Even cheating districts will "round" their calculated figures to the nearest whole number of students. However, very low Chi Square values, for example, values less than 0.01, ought to be inspected further, by a simple procedure.

In Connecticut we have one district, Ansonia, which has a calculated Chi Square value of only 0.00783. Ansonia reported suspending 188 out of 3,888 enrolled students. That gives an overall suspension rate of $188/3,888 = 4.8354$ percent. Ansonia also reported that their total enrollment was made up of 3,346 white students, 514 black students and 28 other students. If we compare the actual numbers reported suspended to those that would have been calculated by a cheating district which merely applied its overall suspension rate to the total enrollments for each ethnicity separately, we would find:

	Total	White	Black	Other
Number Enrolled:	3,888	3,346	514	28
Calculated by applying the overall rate to each group - calculations carried to three decimal places:	188	161.792	24.854	1.354
Calculated figures rounded down for minorities, with the white figures adjusted to add up to the total:	188	163	24	1
Ansonia's reported number suspended by ethnic group:	188	163	24	1

For example, Hayes Mizell, until December, 1974, a school board member in Richland County #1, South Carolina notes a disparity between the number of suspensions reported to OCR and those reported to the School Board. Baltimore reported no suspensions of less than 10 days to you.

That the calculated number of suspended students equal the actual numbers reported by Ansonia does not constitute a *prima facie* case of cheating. Exact or even approximate likelihoods cannot be easily calculated when rounding is taken into consideration (as it need not be in the case of honest districts faithfully reporting children who really do come in whole number quantities). But if the simple calculations outlined above are carried out, and match the district's reported numbers, it would certainly seem reasonable to inquire into the source of the reported numbers.

This procedure will not catch sophisticated cheaters. On the other hand, if OCR's inquiries into false statements on the Annual Survey reports become common knowledge, it might make even sophisticated cheaters consider whether they would like to present substantiation for their reports at a compliance hearing. Methods to detect a substantial proportion of sophisticated cheaters exist, but in our view should not be published in order to avoid reducing their efficacy.¹²

F. Chi Square as a Priority Ranking Device for OCR Follow-Up Review

So far, we have been discussing establishment of a *prima facie* case of discrimination sufficient to shift the burden of proof to school districts to disprove racial discrimination. Additionally, OCR is going to need to set priorities for its own selected follow-up investigation of districts showing a *prima facie* case of racial discrimination. In Connecticut, not a state where the suspension problem is most severe, 12 out of the 15 reporting districts met the *prima facie* test using Chi Square. An 80 percent selection rate, if duplicated everywhere else, could call for about 2,400 field investigations per year by the Office of Civil Rights. Since that level of effort is clearly burdensome, the importance of having clear policies and standards for districts to judge and to correct their own practices is crucial. We would hope that many will move to do so voluntarily. All should be asked in the first instance to explain or justify such disparities under our proposed tests where they exist. Follow-up information should be sought. Those without adequate explanations should be required to take immediate remedial steps. It is from this pool of districts that OCR must decide which ones to pursue further.

How then should OCR select districts for follow-up investigations? Would the ranking established by the calculated Chi Square value be a reasonable method of setting priorities? For example, should OCR go first to Norwalk, because its calculated Chi Square value was 958.101, higher than any other district in Connecticut assuming no convincing explanation and remedial steps from them? We think not for the following reasons.

1. The calculated value is predicated on the assumption of the "null hypothesis" that the district was not discriminating. The higher the value, the less likely that the "null hypothesis" was true. It is not reasonable to conclude from the same data that a hypothesis is untrue and that calculations

¹² Title VI regulations clearly forbid intentional falsification of reports.

probable, and the truth are valid administrative decision tools. Once it is concluded that a district meets a prima facie case of discrimination, Chi Square value should be put aside.

2. The Chi Square value is not a "transparent" number enabling the statistically untrained to intuitively grasp its relevance and implications. An enforcement policy at the review level should be based upon criteria that most school officials and citizens will understand. Chi Square serves to insure that no district with an available "innocent" explanation is selected for review. Choosing which of the selected districts to pursue further with field investigations ought to include measures or criteria that blend readily with prior or collateral information about the districts such as the kind of response the districts make upon notification of a prima facie showing and the kinds of due process procedures in force, etc.

3. Chi Square has one unattractive property as a ranking tool. Of two districts with identical black and white suspension rates and with identical total enrollments, the Chi Square value will be slightly higher for the more integrated district (i.e., for the district which nears a 50/50 split in enrollment). This is because Chi Square only answers its primary question of the likelihood of observing a disparity in rates. That likelihood is smaller when both groups are of equal size rather than one being very small. That is correct for the purpose for which we propose its use--establishing a prima facie case--but would be unattractive as a ranking measure.

4. There are more suitable measures for setting investigative priorities as we later recommend.

II. The Differential Proportions Test (DPT)

A. Purpose

Chi Square serves to remove from further review districts that display disparate racial suspension rates consistent with random departures from equality. It would also be reasonable to exclude those districts which did show slightly statistically different racial suspension rates that might be explained by systematic, i.e., non-random, but relatively minor and varied causes.

For example, black children might attend school more frequently than white children, and thus have slightly more opportunities for committing an infraction of school rules than white children. Or the black student population might contain a slightly higher proportion of males, and males might be more likely to violate school rules more frequently than females. While we do not intend to prove that such innocent explanations are in fact the true explanations for racial disparities in suspension rates, we wish to eliminate from further OCR review districts which may provide such an excuse. These explanations should be forthcoming from the district once a prima facie case is established.

The purpose of the differential proportions test is to make the prima facie examination even more conservative than the Chi Square test itself. DPT will insure that only those districts with a substantial and systematic pattern of racial disparity will be identified as meeting a prima facie case of discrimination.

B. How DPT Works

Since OCR already uses this test, we will not belabor the procedure. It simply compares the percentage of suspended students who are minority to the percentage of enrolled students who are minority. If the percentage of the suspended students who are minority exceeds by a certain amount which we have established according to district size, the district is presumed to be engaging in racial discrimination until shown otherwise.

It is important to note two aspects of DPT. First, it is not a probabilistic test and does not use any assumptions regarding statistical distributions or random processes. Second, it is not a recognized measure in classical statistical inference and has no theoretical rationale apart from OCR's own experience with it. But DPT behaves like most classical measures of the strength of an association in that it is equal to zero in a non-discriminating district and reaches a maximum of 100 percent in a district with very few minority students yet where only minority students are suspended.

C. Calculation of the DPT

Using Stratford's data again as set forth in Table II and involving only black and white students, we took four steps:

1. The data for the district is arranged as in Table II.

2. We checked to see that the numbers of students suspended were large enough to avoid percentages involving one or two students. We feel that if the number of students suspended is less than 100, DPT ought not be applied. In a hypothetical small district with only 10 students suspended, the suspension of one less or one more minority student would make a 10 percent change in the percentage of suspensions that were minority students. Thus the district's status would depend upon the suspension of a single student. By requiring that at least 100 students be suspended before the test is applied, we insure that (a) the district does have a substantial policy of suspending students and (b) the events surrounding the suspension of a single student affect at most a one percent change in the test quantity.

Stratford's data show that the district suspended 765 students. All of the reporting districts in Connecticut, and most of the districts in the nation, suspend more than 100 students per school year.

3. We calculated the test quantity, i.e., the difference between the minority percentages suspended and the minority enrollment.

$$D_p = \frac{100 \cdot n_{12}}{n_{1+}} - \frac{100 \cdot n_{+2}}{n_{++}}$$

For Stratford, Connecticut, the calculations are:

$$\begin{aligned} D_p &= 100 \frac{78}{757} - 100 \frac{723}{9670} \\ &= 10.304 - 7.477 \\ &= 2.8 \text{ percent} \end{aligned}$$

4. We then compared the calculated differential proportion to a standard defined for each size of school district. We have suggested a standard of 10 percent for small districts (under 5,000 enrollment), 8 percent for medium size districts (5,000 to 15,000 enrollment) and 5 percent for large districts (over 15,000 enrollment). If the calculated differential proportion exceeds the standard, the district is held to show prima facie discrimination.

Stratford has a total enrollment of 9,826. If we compare the calculated differential proportion for Stratford, 2.8 percent, to the standard for medium size districts, we find that Stratford will not exceed 8 percent, and thus does not display prima facie discrimination by this test.

That Stratford was singled out for further review by the Chi Square test, but not as discriminatory by DPT illustrates two facts: (1) Chi Square test is very powerful when applied to school districts, and (2) DPT is doing its job of preventing districts with relatively small degrees of disparity from being selected.

DPT does not "show" or "prove" that Stratford was not discriminating. All it does is limit the selection to districts in which the evidence for the prima facie case does not depend upon the suspension or non-suspension of only a few students. In Stratford's case, the evidence of discrimination rests upon fewer than 25 of the more than 700 suspensions. Had the race of any 25 students in the 700 been changed, the district would have shown parity.

D. Unidentified Students and the DPT

DPT must be applied only to those suspended and enrolled students whose racial identification has been supplied. Ethnically unidentified suspended students must be omitted from the calculation.

Waterbury illustrates why the unidentified group must be excluded.

	Ethnicity of Students				
	Total	White	Black	Other	Unidentified
Suspended	2,031	183	153	34	1,661
Not Suspended	15,771	12,455	3,469	1,389	-----
Enrolled	17,802	12,638	3,622	1,542	-----
Percentage of Suspensions		9.0%	7.5%	1.7%	81.8%
Percentage of Enrollments		71.0%	20.3%	8.7%	0%

If we did not exclude the 1,661 ethnically unidentified students from the suspended student total used as a base for the calculation of the percent of suspensions, we would reach the non-sensical conclusion that Waterbury is strongly biased in favor of whites, blacks, and "other" at the same time. In effect, the district would have been rewarded for incomplete reporting by receiving immunity from review. An unreasonable conclusion.

E. Application of DPT

Below is the calculated differential proportion for all 15 Connecticut districts along with the reference percentage we suggest (whether or not the district differential proportion exceeds the reference percentage).

Calculated Differential Proportions For 15 Connecticut Districts

District	Size	Differential Proportion (%)	Reference Percent (by Size)	Excess Over Reference Percent
Stamford	Large	35.2%	5	30.2%
Bridgeport	Large	30.4	5	25.4
Norwalk	Large	29.0	5	24.0
New Haven	Large	25.7	5	20.7
Waterbury	Large	23.3	5	18.3
Bloomfield	Small	22.2	10	12.2
Danbury	Medium	20.3	8	12.3
Middletown	Medium	19.8	5	11.8
New London	Small	19.2	10	9.2
New Britain	Medium	13.4	8	5.4
Hartford	Large	5.4	5	0.4
Stratford	Medium	2.8	8	-
West Haven	Medium	1.3	8	-
Meriden	Medium	0.7	8	-
Ansonia	Small	-0.5	10	-

Of those districts singled out by Chi Square, only Stratford is excluded by DPT. And only Hartford is near the reference percentage in the remaining 11 districts. The other districts exceed the suggested reference percentages by a very wide margin. Changing the reference percentages from the levels we suggest would therefore have very little impact upon the proportion of all reporting districts established as meeting a *prima facie* case of racial discrimination in suspension rates. Indeed, they would have to be raised to 13 percent before any district besides Stratford and Hartford would escape selection. As in the case of Chi Square, this is not a flaw in the measure. It is a reflection of the severity of the suspension problem.

F. DPT as a Priority Ranking Device

As DPT works only to prevent selection of districts where disparate suspension rates depend on the racial identification of a few suspended students, it is a poor device to select the "worst" districts for purposes of ranking priority for on-site or follow-up OCR review. Indeed, it will perform even worse than Chi Square which we earlier recommended against using for this purpose.

DPT has two severe defects as a ranking device. First, it is absolutely indifferent to the number of suspensions and will rate as "worst", districts which, although they discriminate, do so while suspending relatively few students from any race. For example, Stamford shows the highest value for differential proportions. Yet Stamford has the lowest total suspension rate (1.8 percent suspended) in the state, and shows the third lowest suspension rate for black students (4.4 percent suspended) in the state. That Stamford shows a *prima facie* pattern of racial discrimination in its relative rates of suspension is unquestionable. But the suspension problem in Stamford in general and among black students is far from the worst in the State of Connecticut. Second, DPT will single out an integrated district as relatively worse than a district that is almost all white or almost all minority even though the suspension rates in the districts are the same.

Connecticut does not supply a good example of this latter problem. But we can take a hypothetical example of three districts. Each district suspends one percent of its white students and five percent of its black students. Each has exactly 10,000 students enrolled. They differ only in that they are 10 percent, 50 percent, and 90 percent black respectively.

In our hypothetical districts, DPT will strongly point towards the 50 percent black district as substantially "worse" than the 10 percent black district and dramatically "worse" than the 90 percent black district. This would be an unreasonable result.

This is a defect in the use of the differential proportions test as a ranking device. The test itself is fine when used correctly for its intended function. For our three hypothetical districts, the test correctly suggests that the racial disproportions depend upon the racial identification of the

fewest number of students in the 90 percent black district. The inference of disparity is more widely based in the 10 percent district, and least dependent on small numbers in the 50 percent integrated district.

Hypothetical District Figures Showing the Values of the
Differential Proportion Test for Three Districts of
Identical Size and With Identical Suspension Rates for
Whites and Blacks, but Having Different Overall Racial Proportions

District "A", 10 percent Black enrollment:

	White	Black	
Suspended	90	50	$D_p = 100 \left(\frac{50}{140} - \frac{1000}{10000} \right) = 25.7\%$
Not suspended	8910	950	
Enrolled	9000	1000	

District "B", 50 percent Black enrollment:

	White	Black	
Suspended	50	250	$D_p = 100 \left(\frac{250}{300} - \frac{5000}{10000} \right) = 33.3\%$
Not suspended	4950	4750	
Enrolled	5000	5000	

District "C", 90 percent Black enrollment:

	White	Black	
Suspended	10	450	$D_p = 100 \left(\frac{450}{460} - \frac{9000}{10000} \right) = 7.8\%$
Not suspended	990	8550	
Enrolled	1000	9000	

III. The Frequency Test for Schools Within Districts

A. Purpose

The frequency test is proposed for use, in large school districts with many schools that suspend students, as a secondary standard for the detection of patterns of discrimination. Its chief use will be to corroborate the results of the Chi Square and differential proportions tests in determining a prima facie case of discrimination in a district's reported suspension rates. It is also usable to detect mild but pervasive patterns of discrimination in districts which suspend one group of students at a slightly higher rate throughout the district. Since districts which disproportionately suspend students of one group usually do so massively, the second function of the frequency test will seldom occur.

B. How the Test Operates

Suppose a hypothetical district suspended students from majority and minority groups without discrimination. Chance fluctuations would lead to slightly higher suspension proportions for one group in some schools, while other schools would show slightly higher proportions of the other group suspended. Since the suspension probabilities are equal for all students, the odds that one group will show the higher suspension rate in each school will be equal.

Stated differently, the suspension rates in any one school will be like the flip of a fair coin. There are equal probabilities that one or the other of the groups will come out slightly higher just as the coin may land heads or tails. As the district is assumed to be large, it is as if a fair coin were flipped many times with each flip an independent trial of its fairness.

Since we know the number of schools in the district (corresponding to the number of flips of the coin) and we also know the number of schools in which one group had a higher suspension rate than the other (corresponding to the number of times the hypothetically fair coin landed heads), we can calculate the probability of a genuinely nondiscriminating district having the suspension rates for one group exceed that of the other in as many schools as the observed district reports. The probability will equal that calculated from the cumulative binomial distribution function. When this probability is very low, we can conclude that the pattern of discrimination observed is very unlikely to occur by chance in a nondiscriminating district.¹³

This test looks at a slightly different aspect of discrimination than either the Chi Square or the differential proportions test. Chi Square inquires into the likelihood of a chance explanation for the overall disproportionality in suspension rates. The differential proportions test inquires into how substantial the disproportionality in suspension rates is in comparison to the minority composition of enrollment. The frequency test inquires into the pervasiveness of discrimination without regard to the overall numbers suspended. All three tests look at different aspects of the pattern of discrimination. The frequency test is a secondary standard because it would not be reasonable to use it to exonerate a district as a whole. For example, a district that suspended disproportionate numbers of black students, but which did so only because of very large disparities at a few schools rather than smaller disparities at all schools would nonetheless show a prima facie case of discrimination. However, it would clearly be useful to OCR to know which kind of discrimination was occurring, i.e., whether the problem was pervasive or localized.

¹³ The frequency test is a classic statistical test known as the binomial test or as a Bernoulli test against a fixed probability (in our case the fixed probability is .5, or equal odds, the same probability as would be used to test a coin for fairness). It is presented in virtually all elementary texts, and a complete discussion is given in Chapter 10 of Freeman, reference (8).

C. How It Works

Unlike Chi Square, the frequency test makes no approximations. Unlike the differential proportions test, it does not require a large number of suspended students. But it does require some preliminary checking to insure that the test remains valid. Once the preliminary checks have been done, it is necessary only to count the total number of schools in the district and the number of those schools suspending minority students beyond majority rates. When the proportion of all schools suspending minority students beyond majority rates exceeds .75 (75 percent), the discrimination will be considered pervasive.

D. Checking the Data

Since we are going to compare the suspension rate for one minority group to the majority group, both groups must have a sufficiently large enrollment in each school to insure that the proportions are not unduly affected by the suspension of one or two students. Thus the test should only be applied to those schools which have at least 100 enrolled students in each racial group.

Second, the test ought not apply to schools that do not suspend any students. If the relative disparity in suspension rates for any school would change direction if one more student from the group with the lower suspension rate was suspended, or if one less student from the group with the higher rate had not been suspended, then that school ought to be excluded from the test.

Third, the number of schools which pass both of the above checks must equal at least 10. If at least 10 schools in the district have (1) at least 100 students in both the minority and the majority groups, (2) have suspensions, and (3) the suspension disparity rates do not depend upon the suspension of a single child, then the test can be applied to the district.

E. Applying the Test

We will let N be the number of schools in the district. In a district with exactly 10 schools that meet all the above criteria, N would be 10. We then calculate 75 percent of N , rounded up. (If N were 10, 75 percent of N , rounded up, would be 8.) The number of schools in the district in which the minority rate of suspension exceeds the majority rate will be designated M . If M exceeds 75 percent of N (rounded up), then the district can be said to display a pervasive pattern of discrimination unlikely to arise by chance in a nondiscriminating district. If the number of schools in which the minority rate exceeded the majority rate were 9 in our example (i.e., M equals 9), then since 9 exceeds 8, or 75 percent of the number of schools, rounded up, the district would be said to show a non-chance pattern or pervasiveness of discrimination.

Like all of our tests, the 75 percent standard is very conservative. For example, the exact probability of observing 9 out of 10 heads in a flip of a fair coin is about .01, or about 1 chance in 100. For districts with more

than 10 schools, the probability will fall off very rapidly as the number of schools increases. Thus the test is even more conservative with larger districts.¹⁴

F. Limitations of the Current Applicability of the Frequency Test

At the present time the Annual School Campus Civil Rights Survey Reports contain current school year enrollments but give the suspensions for the preceding school year. Thus school-by-school examination of suspension rates would require the matching of school records across years. Because of technical problems in the computer data base in which OCR maintains the data, year-to-year matching is difficult and suspect. Thus we cannot give an example from the Connecticut records and OCR could not apply the frequency test to its data until the computer procedure is changed. However, the test could be applied during an individual review of a selected school district, since no problem exists once the actual school-submitted documents are available.¹⁵

IV. Ranking Tests for Determining Severity of Discrimination

Though the thrust of our tests is to shift the burden on a case-by-case basis to school districts who show a prima facie case of discrimination, there will be a need for selected OCR follow-up investigations in districts which show extreme racially discriminatory patterns in suspensions and/or who persist in such practices. Which districts to single out for priority follow-up compliance efforts will depend on a number of factors. We would simply indicate three attributes which should be considered in ranking criteria: (1) they should be easily discernible to laymen; (2) they should be specific to the suspension issue, that is, should not be tied to the racial composition of the school district as a whole since that may have no bearing on the degree of discrimination in suspension rates; and (3) they should include some provision for magnitude comparisons of the suspension problems among the districts investigated.

We think that the best ranking measures for purposes of OCR on-site review are: (1) the difference between the minority and majority suspension rates, and (2) the number of minority students suspended who would not have been suspended had their suspension rates been equal to the majority rate. Table V gives the ranking of the 15 Connecticut districts by each of these two measures.

¹⁴The exact probability levels, if needed, can be found in National Bureau of Standards, Tables of the Binomial Probability Distribution, 1950, reference (9).

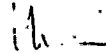
¹⁵As with our previous tests, the frequency test should be applied only to the data of one minority group and the majority group. Different minority groups should not be pooled. Similarly, ethnically unidentified suspensions should be excluded entirely, for the same reasons set forth in our other tests.

Finally, on March 22 and April 12, 1974, we wrote to you about the need to refine and strengthen OCR's Annual Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey. Members of the CDF staff met with OCR staff members. We expressed our great concern not only about the problems we discovered as to what questions were asked and not asked, but about your plans to cut back on the number of districts covered by the survey. The need is for more and better data, not less. We were therefore extremely surprised and dismayed to hear that you are considering conducting the survey every three or four years instead of annually. This is inexcusable and unacceptable. It would undercut any possible compliance program by OCR.

We would like to know if you are in fact no longer planning to conduct the survey on an annual basis, and if so, why. And we want to be clear that we will do everything we can to challenge such an action.

We would appreciate a response from you at the earliest date. We look forward to meeting in the very near future with you on OCR's proposed policy to meet the problems described here.

Sincerely, yours,



Marian Wright Edelman

/mr

Encls.

Table I. Enrollments and Suspensions in 15 Connecticut Districts

District Name	Students Enrolled in Oct. 1972				Students Suspended at least Once in 1972-73				
	Total	White	Black	Other	Total	White	Black	Other	Unidentified
<u>Large Districts</u>									
Hartford	28,060	8,130	13,855	6,084	2,104	541	1,171	392	0
Bridgeport	24,510	10,770	8,343	5,197	3,820	542	1,545	723	1,010
New Haven	11,310	6,979	12,338	2,184	903	90	774	39	0
Stamford	20,422	14,825	4,508	1,089	366	142	200	24	0
Waterbury	17,302	12,638	3,622	1,542	2,031	183	153	34	1,661
Norwalk	17,157	13,207	3,131	819	1,688	828	769	91	0
<u>Medium Districts</u>									
New Britain	13,562	11,017	1,207	1,338	553	373	113	67	0
Meriden	11,377	9,899	511	967	419	355	21	43	0
Danbury	11,129	9,928	944	277	292	206	84	2	0
Stratford	9,826	8,947	723	156	755	679	78	8	0
West Haven	9,511	8,539	863	109	447	395	46	6	0
Middletown	6,628	5,589	916	123	402	259	133	10	0
<u>Small Districts</u>									
New London	4,676	3,171	1,175	330	397	201	173	23	0
Bloomfield	4,222	3,162	1,019	41	234	124	108	2	0
Ansonia	3,888	3,346	514	28	188	163	24	1	0

Table II
 Format of Data for the Calculation of Chi Square Values
 (Figures are 1972-73 data from Stratford Connecticut)

Suspension Status of Students	Ethnicity of Students		Total Number of Students
	Majority (White)	Minority (Black)	
Number Suspended at least once:	$n_{11} = 679$	$n_{12} = 78$	$n_{1+} = 757$ (Total Suspended)
Number Not Suspended:	$n_{21} = 8268$	$n_{22} = 645$	$n_{2+} = 8913$ (Total Not Suspended)
Total Number of Students:	$n_{+1} = 8947$ (Majority Enrollment)	$n_{+2} = 723$ (Minority Enrollment)	$n_{++} = 9670$ (Total of Majority plus Minority Enrollment)

Table III

Expected Values for the Stratford Data

Suspension Status of Students	Ethnicity of Students		
	Majority (White)	Minority (Black)	Total Number of Students
Number Suspended at least once:	$n_{11} = 679$ $m_{11} = 700.4$	$n_{12} = 78$ $m_{12} = 56.6$	$n_{1+} = 757$ $m_{1+} = 757$
Number not Suspended:	$n_{21} = 8268$ $m_{21} = 8246.6$	$n_{22} = 645$ $m_{22} = 666.4$	$n_{2+} = 8913$ $m_{2+} = 8913$
Total Number of Students:	$n_{+1} = 8947$ $m_{+1} = 8947$	$n_{+2} = 723$ $m_{+2} = 723$	$n_{++} = 9670$ $m_{++} = 9670$

Table IV

Calculated Chi Square Values
For the Null Hypothesis of
Equal Suspension Probabilities
For White and Black Students
In 15 Connecticut Districts

District	Size	Chi Square	Discrimination Against
Norwalk	Large	958.101 ***	Blacks
Bridgeport	Large	877.638 ***	Blacks
New Haven	Large	257.957 ***	Blacks
Stamford	Large	238.739 ***	Blacks
Danbury	Medium	151.971 ***	Blacks
Middletown	Medium	134.072 ***	Blacks
Waterbury	Large	105.846 ***	Blacks
New Britain	Medium	100.213 ***	Blacks
New London	Small	75.571 ***	Blacks
Bloomfield	Small	64.364 ***	Blacks
Hartford	Large	22.803 ***	Blacks
Stratford	Medium	9.051 **	Blacks
West Haven	Medium	0.720	-----
Meriden	Medium	0.247	-----
Ansonia	Small	0.00783	-----

*** Statistically significant beyond the .001 level.

** Statistically significant beyond the .01 level.

Table V

Percentages of Black and White Enrollments
Suspended at Least Once in the
15 Connecticut Districts

District Name	Percent Suspended at Least Once		
	White	Black	Difference Black - White
Ansonia	4.9	4.7	- 0.2
Bloomfield	5.9	10.6	6.7
Bridgeport	5.0	18.5	13.5
Danbury	2.1	8.9	6.8
Hartford	6.7	8.5	1.8
Meriden	5.6	4.1	0.5
Middletown	4.6	14.5	9.9
New Britain	3.4	9.4	6.0
New Haven	1.5	6.5	5.0
New London	6.3	14.7	8.4
Norwalk	6.3	24.6	18.3
Stamford	1.0	4.4	3.5
Stratford	7.6	10.8	3.2
Waterbury	1.4	4.2	2.8
West Haven	4.6	5.3	0.7

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

MAR 7 1975

Mrs. Marian Wright Edelman
Children's Defense Fund
of the Washington Research Project, Inc.
1746 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Marian:

We have received your letters of December 20, 1974, and February 14, 1975, in which you discuss your findings in the school discipline area, and describe a number of statistical tests that may be applied to data on student-discipline actions in the school districts we have recently surveyed. You also have urged this Office to develop and enforce a compliance program that will address effectively the disproportionate impact of disciplinary exclusions on minority children.

A reading of your letters encourages me to think that your staff and mine are on the same track as to the need for hard selective criteria in making a determination of districts which statistically appear to be in violation of Title VI. As you know, OCR, through our Policy and Program Development Branch, is working out criteria based on differential proportions. The data comes to us from the DBS Corporation, which had the contract to compile student-discipline statistics reported on the OS/CR 101's and 102's for 1973. (Two copies of their findings were given to your staff two weeks ago.) Further, we have shared your discussions of statistical tests with one of our consultants whose review and comment will be of great assistance to us.

We have reviewed your proposed survey form for certain school districts that might fail to meet suggested statistical tests, and believe that the response data from such a survey could be

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Page 2 - Ms. Marian

instructive in our investigations.

My letter of February 7, 1975, to you advised you that members of my staff are in the process of putting together ideas for a policy statement, which when it is in a workable draft form we would be happy to discuss with you along with the numerous other issues you have presented for our consideration.

We appreciate your continued interest and support.

Sincerely yours,



Peter E. Holmes
Director
Office for Civil Rights

cc: Director, Office for Civil Rights, Region I

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

MAY 20 1975

Mrs. Marion Wright Edelman
Children's Defense Fund of
The Washington Research Project, Inc.
1763 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Dear Marion:

When you wrote me last December, the Children's Defense Fund had just complete a study of Children Out of School in America. This study performed a valuable service in focusing attention on the insufficiently acknowledged problems of children excluded from public education. The Office for Civil Rights, in particular, appreciates the service of your findings and proposals and will apply them in every appropriate way.

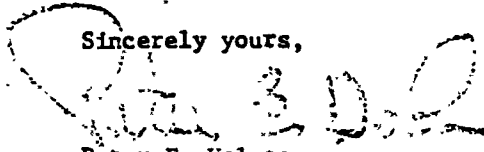
We have also reviewed Paul Smith's memorandum to you concerning the quality of the elementary and secondary data base. Most of Mr. Smith's comments are based upon an apparent lack of understanding of the OCR survey process and perhaps his unfamiliarity with the details of the data processing system employed. Many of these problems could have been explained and resolved through additional inquiries to my staff or the data processing contractor. Such assistance was offered to Mr. Smith on several occasions. The following summary is a discussion of the comments and questions raised by Paul Smith.

1. The documentation provided is correct with regard to physical record length and data sequence. We did not specify record length on one of the tapes provided, and record length on the other was given correctly. The sequence is alphabetical within states, but as your memorandum points out, abbreviations and spelling deviations do present problems. OCR uses the OE code to avoid these problems.
2. The OCR school code was not designed for matching from year to year, as you noted. The OE school code can in fact remain constant while the name changes from year to year.
3. School districts of special interest to OCR were added to the sample. Special attention was given to include all of the ESAA funded districts in 1973. Some of these were not previously sampled because of their size.

4. There are multiple districts with the same name correctly included in the file. For example, there are two school districts named Pleasant Grove with validly different OE codes. One is in Seminole County and one is in Pottawatomie County.
5. The contractor was not required to perform certain edits noted as having been omitted. These include the suspension data for 1973 and verification of alphabetical order. The contractor's overall performance met OCR's requirements.
6. The school districts identified as difficult to verify are all valid. Six of these are contained in the 1972 directory, including one singled out--Lee County, North Carolina, found on page 1000. Others were included for the first time for the reasons noted in Item 3 above.

If you feel that we need to discuss this matter further, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,


Peter E. Holmes
Director
Office for Civil Rights

Appendix D

STATUTORY PROVISIONS FOR SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION

State	Statutory Provision	Grounds For		Local Authority To Report Grounds To The State	Procedure: Notice; Hearing; Follow-up		School Officials Must Report Suspensions and Expulsions To State
		Suspension	Expulsion		Suspension	Expulsion	
Alabama	None	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alaska	Official state policy set by statute	-Willful disobedience -Physical or mental condition -Conviction of felony -Behavior inimical to welfare of other students	None	-	None	None	No
Arizona	Official state policy set by statute	-For good cause	-Open defiance -Habitual profanity -Misconduct	-	None	None	No
Arkansas	Official state policy set by statute	-Immorality -Refractory conduct -Insubordination -Infectious disease -Habitual uncleanness -Conduct which impairs discipline or harms others	None	-	None	None	No
California	Official state policy set by statute	For good cause including: -Willful disobedience -Habitual profanity -Defiance -Assault and battery -Threats -Abuse -Smoking -Use or possession of drugs -Violation of school district rules -Misconduct -Injuring school property	For good cause including: -Willful disobedience -Habitual profanity -Defiance -Assault and battery -Threats -Abuse -Smoking -Use or possession of drugs -Violation of school district rules -Misconduct -Injuring school property	-	Written notice	Right to appeal	No
Colorado	Official state policy set by statute	-Disobedience -Damaging school property -Behavior harmful to others	-Disobedience -Destruction of school property -Behavior harmful to others -Physical or mental disability	-	None	Hearing* without counsel	No

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STATUTORY PROVISIONS FOR SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION

State	Statutory Provision	Grounds For		Local Authority To Report Grounds To The State	Procedure: Notice; Hearing; Follow-up		School Officials Must Report Suspensions and Expulsions To State
		Suspension	Expulsion		Suspension	Expulsion	
Connecticut	Policy set by local administrators	None	"Conduct inimical to best interest of the school"	No	Policy set by local administrators	-Written notice -Hearing	Only expulsions
Delaware	None	-	-	-	-	-	-
D.C.	None	-	-	-	-	-	-
Florida	Policy set by local administrators	None	None	No	None	None	No
	Official state policy set by statute	-Willful disobedience -Profane language -Serious or repeated misconduct -Being charged with drug-related felony	-Being convicted of drug-related felony	-	Written notice	-Written notice -Hearing without counsel	No
Georgia	None	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hawaii	Official state policy set by statute	-Detriment to school morals or discipline -Poor work	-Detriment to school morals or discipline -Poor work	-	Right to appeal in detriment to school morals or discipline cases	Right to appeal in detriment to school morals or discipline cases	No
Idaho	Official state policy set by statute	-Habitual truancy -Incorrigibility -Conduct disrupting school -Presence detrimental to pupils' health and safety	-Habitual truancy -Incorrigibility -Conduct disrupting school -Presence detrimental to pupils' health and safety	-	None	-Notice -Hearing*without counsel	No
Illinois	Policy set by local administrators	-Gross disobedience -Misconduct -Membership in secret society	-Gross disobedience -Misconduct -Membership in secret society	No	None	None	No
Indiana	Official state policy set by statute	-Conduct constituting interference with school purposes	-Conduct constituting interference with school purposes	No	None	None	Only expulsions
Iowa	Official state policy set by statute	-Incorrigibility -Abnormality -Unable to benefit -Presence harmful -Immorality -Violation of rules -Tobacco -Liquor -Drugs -Membership in prohibited	-Incorrigibility -Abnormality -Unable to benefit -Presence harmful -Immorality -Violation of rules -Tobacco -Liquor -Drugs -Membership in prohibited	-	None	None	No

Kansas	Official state policy set by statute	-Violation of board of education rules -Conduct disruptive to school -Conduct impinging on rights of others -Conviction of criminal offense -Disobedience likely to disrupt or impinge upon others' rights	-Violation of board of education rules -Conduct disruptive to school -Conduct impinging on rights of others -Conviction of criminal offense -Disobedience likely to disrupt or impinge upon others' rights	-	Written notice Hearing* with counsel for expulsions and suspensions over 5 days	Written notice Hearing* with counsel for expulsions and suspensions over 5 days	No
Kentucky	Official state policy set by statute	-Willful disobedience or defiance -Habitual profanity	-Willful disobedience or defiance -Habitual profanity	-	None	Parent has opportunity for hearing	No
Louisiana	Official state policy set by statute	-Disobedience -Acting with intentional disrespect -Making unfounded charges against school staff -Profane language -Immoral practices -Conduct injurious to associates -Violates rules and disturbs school -Injures school property -Carrying weapons -Leaving class or school -Any serious offense	-Any suspendable offense -Shall be for 4 or more suspendable offenses -Conviction of felony -Incarceration in juvenile institution	-	Written notice Right to hearing on appeal only	Written notice Hearing* with counsel	No
Maine	Official state policy set by statute	None	-Obstinate disobedience -Disorderly conduct -Membership in secret society	-	None	None	No
Maryland	Policy set by local administrators	-Violating rules of county board of education	-Violating rules of county board of education	Yes - For suspensions over 5 days or expulsions	If exceeds summary suspension period, notice and hearing* with counsel	Hearing* with counsel	No
Massachusetts	Official state policy set by statute	None	-Misconduct	-	None	Hearing* without counsel	No
Michigan	Official state policy set by statute	-Gross misdemeanor -Persistent disobedience	-Gross misdemeanor -Persistent disobedience	-	Written notice Conference	Written notice Conference	No

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STATUTORY PROVISIONS FOR SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION

State	Statutory Provision	Grounds For		Local Authority To Report Grounds To The State	Procedure: Notice; Hearing; Follow-up		School Officials Must Report Suspensions and Expulsions To State
		Suspension	Expulsion		Suspension	Expulsion	
Minnesota	Official state policy set by statute	-Sufficient cause	-Sufficient cause	-	None	None	No
Mississippi	Official state policy set by statute	-Misconduct -Where best interest of school requires it -Mental or emotional abnormality -"Good cause" -Damaging school property -Membership in secret society	-Misconduct -Damaging school property -Membership in secret society	-	None	None	No
Missouri	Official state policy set by statute	-Conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline	-Conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline	-	Notice (unspecified) Hearing Right to appeal to board arises where exceeds summary suspension	Notice (unspecified) Hearing	No
Montana	Official state policy set by statute	-Refusal to comply with school rules -Refusal to pursue required courses -Defiance of school authorities -Damaging school property -Harming or threatening to harm another -Good cause	-Refusal to comply with school rules -Refusal to pursue required courses -Defiance of school authorities -Damaging school property -Harming or threatening to harm another -Good cause	-	Policy set by local administrators	Policy set by local administrators	No
Nebraska	Official state policy set by statute	-Gross misdemeanors -Immorality -Persistent disobedience -Violation of rules -Presence detrimental to school	-Gross misdemeanors -Immorality -Persistent disobedience -Violation of rules -Presence detrimental to school	-	When suspended by local board Written notice Right to appeal	Written notice Right to appeal	Yes
Nevada	Official state policy set by statute	-Not submitting to "reasonable and ordinary rules of order and discipline"	-Not submitting to "reasonable and ordinary rules of order and discipline"	-	None	None	No
New Hampshire	Official state policy set by statute	-Gross misconduct	-Gross misconduct -Nonconformity to school rules	-	If exceeds summary suspension period Right to appeal	Right to appeal	No

New Jersey	Official state policy set by statute	Including but not limited to: -Continued and willful disobedience -Open defiance of school authority -Dangerous conduct -Physical assault -Taking another's personal property -Damaging school property -Unauthorized occupancy of school property or incitement of such -Incitement of truancy -Habitual use of profanity	Including but not limited to: -Continued and willful disobedience -Open defiance of school authority -Dangerous conduct -Physical assault -Taking another's personal property -Damaging school property -Unauthorized occupancy of school property or incitement of such -Incitement of truancy -Habitual use of profanity	-	None	None	No
New Mexico	None	-	-	-	-	-	-
New York	Official state policy set by statute	-Insubordination -Disorderliness -Conduct endangering others -Mental or physical condition	None	No	If exceeds summary suspension period Hearing* with right to counsel	Hearing* with right to counsel	No
North Carolina	Official state policy set by statute	-Willful and persistent violation of school rules -Immoral or disreputable conduct -Menace to school	-Willful and persistent violation of school rules -Immoral or disreputable conduct -Menace to school	-	None	None	No
North Dakota	Official state policy set by statute	-Insubordination -Habitual disobedience	None	-	Notice (unspecified)	None	No
Ohio	Official state policy set by statute	None	None	-	Written notice	Written notice	No
Oklahoma	Official state policy set by statute	-Immorality -Violation of public school regulations -Possession of dangerous weapons or controlled dangerous substances	None	-	Right to appeal	None	No
Oregon	Policy set by state administrators	-Willful disobedience -Open defiance of teacher's authority -Profane language	-Willful disobedience Open defiance of teacher's authority -Profane language	-	None	None	No

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STATUTORY PROVISIONS FOR SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION

State	Statutory Provision	Grounds For		Local Authority To Report Grounds To The State	Procedure: Notice; Hearing; Follow-up		School Officials Must Report Suspension and Expulsions To State
		Suspension	Expulsion		Suspension	Expulsion	
Pennsylvania	Policy set by local administrators	None	None	No	Hearing for permanent suspensions	Hearing	No
	Official state policy set by statute	-Disobedience -Misconduct	None	-	Hearing for permanent suspensions	Hearing	No
Rhode Island	Policy set by local administrators	-Bad conduct -Violation of school regulations	None	No	None	None	No
South Carolina	Official state policy set by statute	-Crime -Gross immorality, misbehavior -Disobedience -Violating school rules -Presence detrimental to school	-Crime -Gross immorality, misbehavior -Disobedience -Violating school rules -Presence detrimental to school -Incorrigibility	-	Written notice Right to appeal	Written notice Hearing* with counsel	No
South Dakota	Official state policy set by statute	-Insubordination -Habitual disobedience	-Insubordination -Habitual disobedience	-	Due process standards set by State Board of Education	Due process standards to be set by State Board of Education	No
Tennessee	Official state policy set by statute	-Truancy -Violence -Immoral conduct -Possessing gun or knife -Possession of drugs -Violating school discipline -When progress or efficiency of school requires	None	-	Hearing for permanent suspension; follow-up Written notice	Hearing* without counsel Written notice	No
Texas	Official state policy set by statute	-Incorrigible conduct	-Incorrigible conduct	-	None	None	No
Utah	None	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vermont	Official state policy set by statute	-Belonging to a secret society or fraternity	-Being a child whose personal habits, infirmities or influences harm the school -Belonging to a secret society or fraternity	-	Notice (unspecified) Hearing without counsel	None, except in secret fraternity/ society cases which involve: -Notice (unspecified) -Hearing without counsel	No

Virginia	Policy set by local administrators	None	None	No	Appeal Written notice	Appeal	No
Washington	Official state policy set by statute	-Disorderly conduct -Anti-social conduct	None	-	State Board of Education sets due process guidelines for local boards	State Board of Education sets due process guidelines for local boards	No
West Virginia	Official state policy set by statute	-Disorderly, refractory, indecent, or immoral behavior	-Conduct detrimental to the progress and the general conduct of the school	-	None	Investigation required	No
Wisconsin	Policy set by local administrators	-Endangering health, safety or property of others	-Endangering health, safety or property of others	No	Right to appeal	Hearing* with counsel	No
Wyoming	Official state policy set by statute	-Disobedience -Defiance -Destruction or defacing school property -Behavior detrimental to welfare, safety, or morals of others -Torturing or abusing pupils -Maltreating pupil or teacher with physical violence	-Disobedience -Defiance -Destruction or defacing school property -Behavior detrimental to welfare, safety or morals of others -Torturing or abusing pupils -Maltreating pupil or teacher with physical violence	-	Written and oral notice Hearing* if suspension exceeds summary suspension period, with counsel	Written and oral notice Hearing* with counsel	No

Source: State statutes and constitutions.

*Hearing given only if suspension or expulsion exceeds a specified minimal time period.

Appendix E

Statement of Judge Robert I. H. Hammerman

Supreme Bench
of
Baltimore City ---
June 4, 1970

Robert I. H. Hammerman
Judge

Court House
Baltimore, Maryland
21202

FOR RELEASE—TUESDAY, JUNE 9, 1970

The Juvenile Court of Baltimore City is embarking on a new policy in dealing with children who are school truants. As the presiding judge in this Court *I will no longer commit any child to a training school whose offense is solely truancy.* This is a policy I have already begun to follow.

I am thoroughly convinced that the practice of sending truants to training schools is an archaic and discredited one. It is a practice which has existed in our country since the advent of juvenile courts and subsists today. However, it is an alternative which is non productive and achieves absolutely nothing for the child, the school or the community. On the contrary, it produces serious deleterious effects.

The truancy problem is a serious one and becoming more so each year. The Department of Education brings to the Juvenile Court those truancy cases which it considers to be incorrigible and the Court in effect becomes the dumping

ground for these children, and when they are sent to a training school the only thing that is accomplished is to clear up the rolls. The training schools are not designed or equipped to straighten out this type of youngster—they are oriented for the delinquent youth who commits crimes. When a child who has committed no crime is placed in this setting for many months, surrounded by hundreds of boys of criminal tendencies, many of the hard core type, he can only be hurt. Institutionalization of a truant in no way is a protection of society. When this child is released from the training school he will not have any greater motivation to attend school than when he went in. In all probability he will in fact be more bitter and frustrated. Nothing, in other words, is accomplished and much is lost.

Sending truants to a training school merely sweeps the problem under the rug. All of us concerned with children should instead concen-

strate our best thought and energy on what the root problems behind truancy are and what can be done to cope with them. To do otherwise, to follow the old, ineffective remedies is to punish the child for the crimes of others.

Truancy is not a simple proposition. It is not something which merely reflects a bad attitude on the part of the child but is rather a symptom and manifestation of substantial underlying problems—problems that cannot be treated by the simple expedient of sending a child to a training school set up for children who commit crimes. There are many causal factors that are deeply embedded, different factors affecting different children. The principal causes include, among others:

1. A lack of interest in the curriculum, a rejection of the academic curriculum which has been our traditional concept in this country. There are thousands of young people in our city who have no aptitude for or orientation towards academic work, and yet our school system to such a great extent is trying to push square pegs through round holes.

There is a great need for substantial revamping of the curriculum at the lower grade levels where so many children are irretrievably lost. Particularly there is the need for proper early testing to accurately determine a student's aptitude shortly after his entrance into the school system. There is the need to broaden extensively curricula geared to vocational and trade pursuits—not merely on the high school level (where thousands never reach) but particularly on the junior high and even elementary level. This must also be done in a way which will remove the stigma attached to this type of course and which causes many to look at these students as second class citizens.

2. The frustrations of many young people who go into junior high school with reading and arithmetic levels at the first, second and third grade and totally unable to achieve and keep up.

3. Many lack the material essentials for attending school such as clothes and shoes.
4. Many, particularly in the slum areas, suffer from illnesses and chronic diseases which are not properly treated.
5. The great instability in thousands of homes and families. We tend sometimes to measure things by middle class standards and experiences. However, in thousands of homes the economic and cultural deprivation is such that the child is surrounded by little if any motivation. The considerable family difficulties and crises make attendance at school not a paramount consideration and so often a virtual impossibility.
6. Many families (so many of which have no father figure) do not recognize the importance of regular attendance at school. Although many other families do have such awareness they lack the ability to effectively translate this.
7. The feeling among so many of the poor that no amount of schooling is going to improve their chances in life.
8. The fear of many students and many parents that their children are not safe on the streets alone, even in broad daylight.
9. The emotional disturbances in thousands of children which are undetected and/or untreated.
10. The use of drugs by many children.
11. Overcrowding, which in some schools, forces pupils to attend classes in auditoriums, cafeterias and makeshift rooms. There are thousands who must get up at a very early hour in the morning to get to a morning shift and thousands of others who do nothing all morning and do not go to school until the afternoon and finish at dusk.
12. A decline in adult authority. This manifests itself in the defiance of many students.
13. The fact that truants are rarely caught the impunity with which most can play hooky.

The price we are paying for a high truancy rate is enormous, and it should be borne in mind that the truant of today is the dropout of tomorrow when he becomes sixteen. There are thousands of

youths in our city with no education, no skills, no work or study habits, no prospects—thousands on their relentless way to an empty, unfulfilled adulthood.

Appendix F

Review of Selected Studies of "School Violence"

Congressional Studies

A *New York Times* editorial of July 11, 1975, entitled, "Violent Schools," begins:

Recent Congressional studies indicate a serious nationwide increase of crime, violence and vandalism in the schools.

The editorial was based on the report of hearings conducted in the Spring of 1975 by the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, chaired by Senator Birch Bayh, entitled, "Our Nation's Schools A Report Card: 'A' in School Violence and Vandalism." Because so much publicity has been based on this study, we attempted to analyze the data as well as the handful of other major studies of school violence. We have concluded that most of the violence studies, including the Bayh Subcommittee study, are of doubtful validity. We have found only two studies of school disorders which were conducted with some care and interpreted with caution so that their conclusions, although limited, are relatively trustworthy.

Bayh Subcommittee "Report Card"

Though the Subcommittee has not supplied CDF with either the raw data from which the estimates in the "Report Card" were derived, or the tabulations showing the methodology used to calculate the final published figures, Subcommittee staff members have explained, in telephone conversations, the general method of

calculation which they employed. The following critique is based on the explanation the Committee staff gave.

The Subcommittee mailed out questionnaires to the 748 *largest* school districts in the United States and all the public school systems with more than 10,000 students enrolled.¹ The "sample" was neither a random sample, a census, nor a judgment sample intended to be representative of the enrolled student population. Instead, the design was essentially a census of the largest (primarily urban and consolidated county-city districts) school districts in the nation.

The Subcommittee supplied no information on the response rate to their questionnaires. If all 748 districts responded, the combined enrollment of the districts would have been approximately 21,000,000 students in the 1973-74 school year. This would be approximately 47.2 percent of the total enrolled public school population in the 1973-74 school year. If the response rate was lower than 100 percent, the enrolled population in the responding districts would be less than the figures just cited. Without knowledge of the actual enrollments in the responding districts, the actual incidence rates of the several types of

¹ A list of the school systems can be found in the *Education Directory 1973-1974 Public School Systems*, Office of Education, DHEW, publication number DHEW (OE) 74-11701. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1974 (Since we have not seen the questionnaires, we do not know if the match between the respondents and the published list is exact, but it should be very close.)

crimes and disorders surveyed cannot be computed.

The Subcommittee did not attempt to estimate incidence rates, but instead took a shortcut in calculating the figures that were published. The questionnaires contained two blanks for each "item" (a specific offense, crime, behavior, etc.), one asking the district to report the number of occurrences of that item in 1970 and the other asking the district to report the number of occurrences in 1973. The Subcommittee simply totaled the number of reported occurrences (for each item separately) in 1970 and in 1973 across all districts. Thus, the Subcommittee took the simple total of incidents reported in 1970 and the simple total of incidents reported for 1973, and calculated the "percentage increase" from 1970 to 1973. However, these totals ignore completely (a) the proportion of schools responding for each of the two periods, and (b) the relationship of the reported numbers of incidents to the size of the enrolled student body in the reporting districts.

What are the consequences of the Subcommittee's approach? First, all questionnaires were being answered in late 1974. Some school districts will have had figures available for the just-completed school year, 1973-74, but will not have kept figures for the 1970-71 school year. (It is likely that the reverse situation—where figures for the earlier period were available but those for the later period were not—was relatively uncommon.) But when a district failed to supply data for the earlier period, that district was counted in the total as if its true incidence had been zero. Since it is likely that there was more nonresponse for the earlier period than for the more recent period, the "percentage increase" calculated from the simple totals across districts will be overstated by an unknown amount.

The preferable method of calculation is to total both the incident counts and the numbers of students enrolled for both the periods. Nonresponding districts having both incident counts and enrollments should be entered as zero. Then, for each period separately, the number of incidents per 1,000 enrolled students should have been calculated, producing an *incidence rate*. From this, the percentage increase in

the incidence rates could have been legitimately presented to the public. Such a calculation would not have been completely free of nonresponse bias—the more heavily affected districts could have been more likely to respond in one period rather than the other—but it would certainly not be nearly as badly biased as the shortcut formula is given systematic underreporting of past data.

The second difficulty with the Subcommittee's approach is that the number of students enrolled in public schools within districts with over 10,000 enrollments changed slightly between 1970-71 and 1973-74. In the fall of 1970, the reported enrollment of the 748 largest districts was 21,534,846 while the reported enrollment of the 748 largest districts (not necessarily the same districts, although the overlap is very great) was 21,206,455. Thus, there was a 1.5 percent decline in enrollment between 1970 and 1973. This decline would cause a slight *underestimate* of the "percentage increase" when the Subcommittee's shortcut formula was used, assuming that the responding districts were comparable to all districts in the two periods. Without access to the actual responses (so that enrollments can be totaled) it is impossible to determine the actual bias introduced by the slight decline in enrollments from 1970 to 1973 in the surveyed districts.

Third, the Subcommittee, like almost all previous surveys of "school violence," failed to ask responding school districts whether the "incidents" reported were committed by *enrolled students or by intruders*. In the only data available to CDE on violence in the schools which can be assumed to be reasonably complete—in Boston during the first year of desegregation—there was one serious incident of an attack by an enrolled student upon another enrolled student. But there were more than a dozen incidents of attacks upon students and faculty which were committed by adults or by youths of school age *not* attending school at the time the incident occurred. For example, one school administrator was shot (and only slightly wounded) by youths *located on the roof of a building across from the school*.

It is vital to determine whether or not the actual incidents of school violence that do occur are committed by enrolled students so that

remedies can be appropriately designed. Harsher school discipline policies, for example, do not reach nonattending youths and adults. Indeed, the question of who is committing the offenses that are frightening parents, students and teachers is so important that the Subcommittee's apparent lack of attention to this is inexplicable. Moreover, this failure exaggerates the apparent extent of student-to-student and student-to-faculty violence to an unknown degree.

Fourth, the Subcommittee reported *only* the percentage increase in the counts of incidents from 1970 to 1973, not the raw counts themselves, or the preferred incidence rates. The reader is therefore left with the impression that violence is increasing rapidly, but without the opportunity to judge if violence has become widespread. For example, the committee reported that, "Homicides increased by 18.5 percent." They did not state that the increase was from 85 deaths in 1970 to 100 deaths in 1973 among schools with over 21,000,000 enrolled students. Even if all the incidents reported were in fact homicides and were in fact committed by enrolled students (neither of which is likely to be true), that would be an incidence rate of .005 homicides per 1,000 enrolled students, or about one homicide for every 7 large city school systems in the country. (The real rate would be slightly higher because of the unreported nonresponse from some districts, although the increase might be less). Even though one homicide for every 200,000 enrolled students is one too many, it can not be used to justify 1,000,000 student suspensions.

Senate Survey of Violence in Schools Occurring from 1964-1968

The "Report Card" was not the first Congressional study to use the retrospective survey method. It is almost an exact copy of the earlier survey by the Subcommittee, published as "Survey of Violence in Schools Occurring from 1964 Through 1968," (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970). The earlier survey was limited to the 110 largest school districts, containing about 10,000,000 enrolled students at the time of survey. Unlike the recent

study, the earlier study published the raw counts of violence. However, it failed to (a) compute incidence rates, (b) report nonresponse separately by year, and (c) distinguish between student-caused offenses and those caused by outsiders or adults.

1970 House Subcommittee Study on Disruption

Other minor surveys relate to the problem of school violence. The House Subcommittee on General Education of the Committee on Education and Labor reported the results of a survey during hearings in 1970. The survey questionnaire was sent to all 50,000 school districts in the United States, and achieved a response rate of about 50 percent (by district, the response rate was higher as a percent of reporting enrollment, although the enrollment data was not used to compute incidence rates). But the House survey was directed to "disruptions" of school during the period 1968-69, when political protests were common among youths. It did not distinguish between legal and illegal protests, nor did it specifically ask whether "violence" (under any definition) occurred. About 18 percent of the districts responding reported one or more "serious protests." The chief causes of protests reported were disciplinary rules, dress codes, school services and facilities, and curriculum policies—not political issues. Racial issues were involved in the causes of the protests in about 10 percent of the schools reporting protests.

Other Studies

The National Association of Secondary School Principals

NASSP surveyed school districts about "any activity out of the ordinary" during the school year 1968-69. Of the 1,000 districts surveyed, 670 responded. About 59 percent of those responding reported some activity out of the ordinary. About 43 percent reported protests or disruptions lasting for a half a day or more. Again, no measures of school violence were taken, and no incidence rates were calculated. The study is

reported in "Student Activism and Conflict," *NASSP Bulletin*, 55 (January 1971), p. 70.

A Report on Conflict and Violence in California's High Schools (1973)

The California State Department of Education published the results of an opinion survey among students, teachers, administrators and some community residents. Approximately 1,000 persons were surveyed from 32 schools throughout the state. The most interesting findings were the percents of respondents agreeing about the causes of violence in schools:

TABLE 1

Percent of Respondents Agreeing that Gangs, - Intruders, and Racial/Ethnic Friction are Causes of School Violence

Respondents	Percent Agreeing with the Following as Causes of School Violence		
	Gangs	Intruders	Racial/Ethnic Friction
Students	65	56	61
Teachers	79	61	70
Administrators	84	47	85
Community Residents	85	58	87

The California study did report *student caused* incidents of violence in Los Angeles High Schools in the form of an average number of crimes per month during the period January to April, 1972. That data allows us to calculate actual incidence rates, using an assumed enrollment in Los Angeles Secondary Schools of 280,000 secondary pupils. (See Table 2.)

These rates are far less than the violent crime rates in the United States, and, of course, still further below the violent crime rates in Los Angeles.

National Education Association

An opinion poll of public school teachers, conducted by the National Education Association in 1974, and published in "Today's Education," September-October, 1974, reported that among 1,000 randomly selected teachers, 3.0

TABLE 2

Crimes Per Month by Enrolled Students and Incidence Rates in Los Angeles Secondary Schools during January to April, 1972

Crime	Average Number Per Month	Monthly Crimes Per 1,000 Enrolled Students
Homicide	0	0.000
Assaults on Teachers	28	0.100
Assaults on Staff and Guards	18	0.064
Assaults on Students	74	0.264
Weapons Offenses	86	0.307
Total	206	0.736

Source: (as above) Calculations of incidence rates by CDF assuming 280,000 enrolled secondary students.

percent reported being physically attacked by a student during the year; 76.8 percent reported that violence was *not* a problem at their schools; 96.8 percent reported that it was not a *major* problem; and 11.4 percent reported having their property damaged during the course of the year.

Academic Studies

Two academic studies of disruptions in schools — not necessarily of violence — included both a reanalysis of the data collected in the 1966 U.S.O.E. survey (the "Coleman Report") and an analysis of new data collected for the studies.²

Although both reports are too lengthy to summarize here, they are both generally excellent and provide useful guides to the general question of the relationship of school violence to school disciplinary policies. Perhaps the major conclusion of the report by Meyer, Chase-Dunn and Inverarity is:

²John W. Meyer, Chris Chase-Dunn, and James Inverarity, "The Expansion of the Autonomy of Youth: Responses of the Secondary School to Problems of Order in the 1960's," Laboratory for Social Research, Stanford University, Stanford, California, August 1971 (mimeo), and Stephen K. Bailey, "Disruption in Urban Public Secondary Schools," National Association of Secondary School Principals, Washington, D.C. (no date, circa 1970), partial reprint of a study conducted at the Syracuse University Research Corporation, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

... the problem of crime and order among young people must be seen as a problem in the relation of youth and society, not primarily one located in (or to be dealt with in) the schools.³

"The Expansion of Autonomy of Youth," p. 2

The study by Bailey found that while disruption rates were higher among integrated high schools than either among all black or all white high schools, they were lowest of all among integrated high schools which *also* had integrated faculties.

Appendix G

Sample Discipline Code

The following discipline code is included as a sample of the kinds of regulations a school district can adopt. This code was prepared by the Commission on Administrative Behavior Supportive of Human Rights of Phi Delta Kappa—a professional education fraternity dedicated to the promotion and improvement of publicly

supported and universally available education. The bracketed phrases in the code have been added by and are the responsibility of CDE, with the permission of Phi Delta Kappa. In adopting such a code, each school district should also review appropriate federal, state and local regulations.

A MODEL STUDENT CODE

Prepared by

The Commission on Administrative Behaviors Supportive of Human Rights

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Model Student Code

- 1.0 Rules Governing Student Discipline
- 2.0 Student Records
- 3.0 Searches of Students
- 4.0 Possession and Distribution of Literature
- 5.0 Freedom of Expression and Assembly
- 6.0 Freedom of Religion
- 7.0 Equal Educational Opportunity
- 8.0 Temporary Suspension
- 9.0 Suspension
- 10.0 Expulsion and Involuntary Transfer
- 11.0 Involuntary Classification
- 12.0 Education for Excluded Students
- 13.0 Corporal Punishment

1.0 Rules Governing Student Discipline

1.1 This Code and any additional rules governing student discipline shall be distributed to students and their parent(s) or guardian(s) at the beginning of each school year and shall be posted in conspicuous places within each school throughout the school year. Changes in the rules shall not take effect until they are distributed to students and parents.

Comment: The Commission believes that human rights in the schools are not fostered by reliance on unwritten, ad hoc, or ex post facto rules governing student discipline. Rather, to insure that teachers, students, and administrators have an opportunity to know and understand disciplinary rules, the Commission recommends that such rules be written and distributed before they take effect.

2.0 Student Records

Introductory Comment. The Commission recommends that students have greater access to and more control over their personal school records. Greater access will guard against inaccurate, irrelevant, and obsolete material entering and remaining in the record. More control over the dissemination of records will reduce misunderstanding and misuse of these highly personal data.

2.1 Student records shall be defined as any material concerning individual students maintained in any form by the school board or its employees, except personal notes maintained by teachers and other school personnel solely for their own individual use and not communicated to any other person.

Comment: Student records are maintained in many places and many forms by a school system. If access to student records is to be meaningful, the Commission believes that all these records, with specific exceptions, should be accessible. One such exception is stated in this section. Notes on students that teachers, counselors, and other personnel maintain for their own individual use should be protected from student and parental access. It is not professionally feasible to require that such notes be open to students or parents. Moreover, because the substance of these notes is not communicated to anyone, no harm from their maintenance can be suggested which would outweigh the inconvenience caused by granting access to them.

2.2 All records on a student, with the exception of personal evaluations submitted in confidentiality before the adoption of this section, shall be open to that student's parent(s) or guardian(s). Such records shall also be open to the student with the consent of one of his parent(s) or guardian(s), except that consent is not required for any student in the 10th, 11th, or 12th grades. The school shall provide whatever assistance is necessary to enable the student and his parent(s) or guardian(s) to understand the material in the record.

Comment: The Commission believes parents have a basic right to inspect all records on their own children maintained by the school system. The only exception should be personal evaluations submitted before the adoption of this Code with the understanding that they would not be accessible to the student or parents. Through ninth grade the student cannot inspect the record without the consent of one of his parents. Thus, while the student is in the first nine grades,

parents will judge whether material in the records is appropriate for the student's inspection. After that, parental consent is not required. Whatever harm might result from a 10th, 11th, or 12th grader viewing personal data is outweighed by a judgment that a student of this age should have an independent right to inspect his own record. Because some of the material in the record may not be readily understood, the school should provide whatever oral or written explanation is necessary to knowledgeably inspect the record.

2.3 Any personal evaluations submitted in confidentiality prior to the adoption of this Code shall either be destroyed within one (1) year of the adoption of this Code or the source and date of any such evaluations shall be listed and this list shall be made available with the other portions of the record within one (1) year of the adoption of this Code.

Comment: Section 2.2 recognized the need to withhold from student and parental access personal evaluations submitted in confidentiality before the adoption of this Code. This exception to the general rule of accessibility is recommended in fairness to persons who submitted personal evaluations under an explicit or implicit condition that such evaluations would not be viewed by students or parents. The Commission believes that school systems can honor this condition while simultaneously minimizing any harmful effects stemming from the maintenance of confidential materials. One way of achieving both objectives is to destroy all confidential records. Another is to identify any confidential documents with enough specificity to allow the student and/or parents to find the source of the documents and request their voluntary release. Although this section requires full compliance within one year of the Code's adoption, the Commission recommends that until full compliance is achieved school systems should destroy or list all confidential documents in any files inspected by students, parents, or outside parties.

2.4 The student and his/her parent(s) or guard-

ian(s) shall be allowed to submit any material to the record including, but not limited to, written response to any material unfavorable to the student contained in the record. The principal, or the next superior school official not involved in the record entry, may under appropriate circumstances expunge material from the student's record upon the request of the student or his/her parents.

Comment: As a further means of reducing any potential harmful effects of student records, the Commission believes that students and parents should be allowed to insert material of their choice in the record. Examples of the types of materials which may be inserted under this section are results of outside testing and evaluation, medical or psychological reports, and explanations of unfavorable material appearing in the record. It is also essential that appropriate school officials be authorized to expunge material from a student's record upon the request of the student or his/her parents. Examples of materials for which a student or his/her parents might request expungement are harmful anecdotal entries, results of testing which occurred on a day when the student was under an emotional or physical strain, or obsolete and irrelevant materials.

2.5 The consent of the student and one parent or guardian shall be required each time and for each item in the student's record divulged to any person except certificated professional personnel employed by the local school board and having direct educational contact with the student. The consent of a parent or guardian is not required if the student is in the 10th, 11th, or 12th grades.

Comment: The Commission believes that students and parents should determine what persons, if any, outside the local or state school department should inspect the student's record. This section applies, but is not limited in its application, to private and governmental agencies, colleges and universities, branches of the military, credit bureaus, and businesses. A student may grant advance permission to release his

record to specific persons or institutions. Of course, this section would yield to a valid search warrant or a subpoena issued by a court.

2.6 Any research involving student records shall be subject to the provisions of this Code. Any reports or publications based on such research shall not contain the names of individual students [Release of summary compilations of data, not containing the names of individual students, shall not require student or parent consent.]

Comment: This section is necessary to indicate that research conducted by persons either inside or outside the school system is not exempt from the provisions of this Code. Further protection against potential abuse of student records by researchers is provided by prohibiting the use of student names in any research reports based on student records.

3.0 Searches of Students

3.1 Searches of a student's person, his her personal possessions, or his her locker without a valid search warrant shall be prohibited unless the principal has a reasonable basis for believing that the student is concealing material the possession of which is prohibited by federal, state, or local law or the provisions of this Code.

Comment: One purpose of this section is to eliminate general searches where without prior notification all students are required to open their lockers for inspection by the school staff. Another is to require that searches of a particular student's person, personal possessions, or locker may proceed only if there is a reasonable belief that contraband is hidden in that locker.

4.0 Possession and Distribution of Literature

4.1 Students shall have the right to distribute and possess any form of literature, including but not limited to, newspapers, magazines, leaflets, and pamphlets, except that the principal may prohibit a specific issue of a specific publication

if there is a substantial factual basis for believing its possession or distribution will cause or is causing substantial disruption with school activities. This right of distribution shall extend to school grounds and buildings, absent the requisite finding of disruption.

Comment: Sections 4.1-4.3 apply to literature published on or off campus and to literature sponsored or not sponsored by the school system. The Commission believes that it is no longer consistent with human rights in the schools to restrict student possession and distribution of literature merely because its contents are controversial or because certain words offend a part or even a majority of the population. Extraordinary circumstances arise, however, where the principal believes that possession or distribution of particular literature will materially endanger the normal functions of the schools. This section allows the principal to suppress a specific issue of a specific publication under appropriate circumstances.

4.2 The principal or any member of the school staff shall not require that literature, including school-sponsored publications, be submitted for approval or consent prior to distribution. The principal may require that no literature be distributed unless a copy thereof is submitted to the principal or his designee no later than the time distribution commences.

Comment: Prior review of literature may inhibit the exercise of First Amendment freedoms. Accordingly, student possession or distribution of literature should not await administrative approval. Students distributing literature may be required to submit a copy to the principal no later than the time on-campus distribution begins. Students possessing literature and not distributing it to others shall not be required to submit such literature under this section.

4.3 The time, place, and manner of student distribution of literature may be reasonably regulated by the principal provided such regulations:

- a. are uniformly applied to all forms of literature;
- b. do not prohibit distribution at times or places either inside, or outside the school building for which no factual basis exists to conclude that any interference with school activities would occur;
- c. are specific as to places and times where distribution is prohibited;
- d. do not inhibit any person's right to accept or reject any literature distributed in accordance with the rules.

Comment: The primary purpose of this section is to allow regulation of literature distribution so that this activity will not infringe upon school activities. It may be desirable, for example, to ban distribution near the doors of classrooms while class is in session or near building exits during fire drills. But these regulations must be reasonable, they may not relegate literature distribution to remote times and places which are unnecessary to avoid interference with school activities.

5.0 Freedom of Expression and Assembly

5.1 Students shall have the right to express themselves by speaking, writing, wearing, or displaying symbols of ethnic, cultural, or political values such as buttons, badges, emblems, and armbands, or through any mode of dress or grooming style or through any other medium or form of expression; except that the principal may regulate expression provided there is a factual basis for believing a specific form of expression by a specific student will cause or is causing substantial disruption of school activities. Students shall also have the right to refrain from expressing themselves.

Comment: The courts have clearly indicated that the First Amendment rights of students do not stop at the door to the school house. The right of students to freely express themselves, in the absence of a finding of substantial disruption, has been firmly established.

5.2 The freedom of students to assemble in a non-disruptive time, place, and manner shall be preserved.

Comment: In exercising their freedom to assemble, students need not be allowed to disrupt or disturb classroom instruction or to unduly inconvenience school officials with untimely meetings.

6.0 Freedom of Religion

6.1 Students shall have the right to refuse to participate in or attend any form of religious activity, including but not limited to, prayers, songs, readings, meditations, and seasonal programs.

Comment: Efforts persist to reestablish religious observances in the schools. Whatever the outcome of these efforts, the Commission believes that the right of each student to refrain from engaging in any form of religious activity in the schools must remain inviolate. Further, school officials have an affirmative responsibility to avoid any harmful effects being visited upon students exercising their right to refuse participation in religious activities.

7.0 Equal Educational Opportunity

7.1 The right of a student to participate fully in classroom instruction and extracurricular activities shall not be abridged or impaired because of age, sex, race, religion, national origin [financial condition,] pregnancy, parenthood, marriage, or for any other reason not related to his/her individual capabilities.

Comment: The Commission believes that discrimination has no place in public education. Schools should be open to all who wish to enjoy their benefits. This right should not be curtailed because the student possesses characteristics which do not conform to majority patterns. The list of prohibited discriminatory factors in this section is not intended to be exhaustive. The commitment to equal educational opportunity extends to all factors upon which the impairment of educational services cannot be rationally based.

Introductory Comments to Sections 8-12. Before school systems adopt these provisions, they

should determine if statutes in their state would conflict with this Code. Indiana, for example, has enacted a detailed statute governing suspensions and expulsions which would apparently preclude the adoption of Sections 8.11 of this Code by local Indiana school boards. Many other states have enabling statutes granting school officials broad authorization to suspend and expel pupils. These statutes do not generally preclude local school boards from adopting policies to give students greater protection as school officials exercise their statutory authority. Even in these states, however, statutes may exist governing a narrow aspect of the suspension-expulsion procedure which would conflict with this Code. In short, a sound approach to this Code would require a thorough review of statutes (and case law) on student discipline.

The sections on suspension and expulsion form the heart of any student disciplinary Code. The Commission believes that human rights in the schools can be fostered if the procedures governing suspensions and expulsions are spelled out in sufficient detail so that misuse and misunderstanding of the system do not occur. As a general principle in drafting these provisions, the Commission determined that procedural protections for students should increase as the severity and potential long term effects of disciplinary measures increase. Thus, in this Code, more procedural safeguards are provided before expulsion than before suspension, and more before suspension than before temporary suspension. In addition, the Commission attempted to reduce the unnecessary collateral effects—any harmful effects upon the student beyond the validly determined exclusion from school caused by these disciplinary measures. To achieve this objective it was necessary to carefully review policies regarding student records, academic punishments, and access to instruction during exclusion.

8.0 Temporary Suspension

8.1 A student may be temporarily suspended by the building principal only if the principal has reasonable cause to believe that:

- a. the physical safety of the student or of

others is substantially endangered and will continue to be endangered, or
 b. the student is causing and will continue to cause substantial interference with classroom instruction.

Such temporary suspension shall be preceded by an informal conference between the student, the principal, and the teacher or supervisor who referred the student to the principal. At this conference the student shall be informed of the reason for the disciplinary action [and the nature of the evidence against him or her,] and shall be given the opportunity to persuade the principal that the temporary suspension is not warranted.

8.2 A temporary suspension shall terminate when it is reasonably determined that the student's presence in the school will not result in a situation warranting temporary suspension under section 8.1, and in no case shall it last beyond the end of the school day following the day the temporary suspension began.

8.3 Within twenty-four (24) hours of the beginning of a temporary suspension, the principal shall mail a notice to the parent(s) or guardian(s) of the suspended student stating the specific act(s) for which the temporary suspension was ordered. On or before the day such notice is postmarked, the principal shall make a reasonable effort to contact the parent(s) or guardian(s) of the student by telephone to communicate directly the information contained in the written notice.

8.4 A student may not be excluded from school under temporary suspension for more than eight (8) school days or portions thereof in one school year unless on or before the ninth (9th) day of temporary suspension and at the beginning of any subsequent temporary suspensions, the principal commences the notice and hearing procedure provided in 9.1-9.10. All records and documentation regarding a temporary suspension shall be destroyed at the end of each school year. No information about a temporary suspension shall be communicated to any person not directly involved in the disciplinary proceedings.

8.5 A second temporary suspension shall not be ordered within five (5) school days of the first unless the principal recommends a suspension or expulsion hearing and follows the procedure outlined in 9.1-9.10. This second temporary suspension may last until the suspension or expulsion hearing if the principal determines that the continued presence of the student would result in a situation warranting temporary suspension under section 8.1.

Comment: Many school systems allow principals to suspend students for any reason and without notice or hearing. The permissible length of these discretionary, summary suspensions varies, but may range up to ten days or more. In recent years, the courts have become increasingly uneasy about this carte blanche authority to suspend students and have imposed numerous procedural safeguards. The Commission has examined these cases and has attempted to formulate a disciplinary process which provides adequate due process protection for students while allowing school officials to maintain order.

The Commission believes that the power of temporary suspension should be used only under the extraordinary conditions described in section 8.1. This will allow the principal to cope with any emergency warranting the immediate exclusion of a particular student. Even under these circumstances, the Commission believes it is possible and fair to have a conference with the student informing him/her of the reasons for the temporary suspension and allowing the student to contest the suspension. For example, the student ought to have an opportunity to persuade the principal that this is a case of misidentification, or, for some other reason, the penalty is not warranted.

Not only should the use of temporary suspensions be limited to extraordinary circumstances, but should be limited in length and frequency as well. Thus, section 8.2 limits each temporary suspension to 2 days and section 8.4 limits temporary suspension in any school year to a total of 8 days. Once the 8-day limit is reached, the student can be temporarily sus-

pended only if notice and hearing procedures are commenced. Likewise, section 7.5 regulates the frequency of temporary suspension. If extraordinary circumstances recur within 5 days after the student has been reinstated from a temporary suspension, the principal may temporarily suspend the student again, provided notice and hearing procedures are commenced. This second temporary suspension may last until a suspension hearing is held.

9.0 Suspension

9.1 The principal shall not recommend suspension unless the student while on school grounds or during a school activity off school grounds:

- a. intentionally causes or attempts to cause substantial damage to school property or steals or attempts to steal school property of substantial value; or
- b. intentionally causes or attempts to cause substantial damage to private property or steals or attempts to steal valuable private property; or
- c. intentionally causes or attempts to cause physical injury to another person except in self-defense; or
- d. knowingly possesses or transmits any firearm, knife, explosive, or other dangerous object of no reasonable use to the student at school; or
- e. knowingly possesses, uses, transmits, or is under the influence of any narcotic drug, hallucinogenic drug, amphetamine, barbiturate, marijuana, alcoholic beverage, or intoxicant of any kind; or
- f. knowingly uses or copies the academic work of another and presents it as his own without proper attribution; or
- g. repeatedly and intentionally defies the valid authority of supervisors, teachers, or administrators.

9.2 If the principal chooses to recommend a suspension not to exceed seven (7) school days, he/she shall mail a notice to the student and to the student's parent(s) or guardian(s) within twenty-four (24) hours of the alleged act(s) upon which the recommendation is based or within 24 hours of the time he/she learns of such alleged act(s). Such notice shall be in the language of the

parent(s) or guardian(s) as well as in English and shall contain:

- a. a complete description of the school regulation(s) allegedly violated by the student; and
- b. a full statement of the facts leading to the principal's recommendation for suspension; and
- c. specific reference to the student's right to have a private hearing before an impartial hearing officer at which a tape recording will be made and at which the student and his parent(s), guardian(s), and adult representative, if any, shall be allowed to question adverse witnesses, contradict written statements of absent witnesses, and present evidence in the student's defense, including the presentation of live witnesses; and
- d. the time and place of a hearing to be held no later than four (4) school days from the date the notice is postmarked, except the principal shall not schedule the hearing at a time prior to when he she would reasonably expect the notice to arrive at the home of the parent(s) or guardian(s). The student shall be informed of his right to a reasonable postponement of the hearing date for the purpose of preparing his her defense;
- e. specific reference to the student's right to have access to his her records as provided by sections 2.1 2.5 of this Code.

9.3 On or before the day the notice in section 9.2 (or section 10.2 in the case of an expulsion or involuntary transfer) is postmarked, the principal shall make a reasonable effort to contact the parent(s) or guardian(s) of the student by telephone to communicate directly the information contained in the written notice.

9.4 Unless the student is temporarily suspended under the provisions of sections 8.1 8.5, he she shall continue to participate in regular classroom instruction pending the hearing.

9.5 If the student's parent(s) or guardian(s) are unable or unwilling to attend the hearing, the student may designate an adult to be present at the hearing. The hearing shall be postponed

upon the student's request to enable the student to secure the presence of an adult.

9.6 The hearing shall conform to these guidelines:

- a. An impartial hearing officer, who may be an employee of the school board but not assigned to the school where the student is enrolled, shall be appointed by the superintendent or his designee to conduct the hearing.
- b. The student shall be present during the presentation of evidence. If witnesses against the student testify at the hearing, the student and his parent(s), guardian(s), or representative shall be allowed to question such witnesses. If written statements of witnesses against the student are submitted as evidence, the witnesses shall be identified by name, and the student, his parent(s), guardian(s), or representatives shall be allowed to contradict these statements. The student shall be allowed to submit evidence in his own defense including the presentation of live witnesses.
- c. The hearing shall be private unless the student requests that it be public.
- d. A tape recording shall be kept of the entire hearing and a copy of this recording shall be available to the student at no cost upon request.

9.7 Within twenty-four (24) hours of the hearing, the hearing officer shall determine, based only on the evidence presented at the hearing, whether there is substantial evidence that the student violated a specific written regulation of the school board. If the hearing officer determines that a violation has occurred, he shall further determine the appropriate penalty but in no case shall a suspension exceeding seven (7) days be ordered. If the student was temporarily suspended under section 8.1 8.5 in connection with this violation, the number of days of temporary suspension shall be deducted from the length of the suspension determined by the hearing officer.

9.8 The hearing officer shall fully record his findings of fact. Within twenty-four (24) hours of the hearing, one copy of the findings shall be mailed to the student, one copy to his parent(s)

or guardian(s), one copy to the student's designated hearing representative, if any, and one copy to the principal, [and one copy to the superintendent.]

9.9 If the hearing officer determines that no violation has occurred, the student, if temporarily suspended, shall be immediately reinstated, all records and documentation regarding the disciplinary proceedings shall be immediately destroyed, and no information regarding the hearing shall be placed in the student's permanent record or file or communicated to any person except as provided in section 9.8.

9.10 If suspension is ordered, no academic penalties shall be imposed upon the student while he/she is excluded from school. A suspended student shall be allowed to complete all assignments and tests missed during the suspension. All records and documentation regarding the suspension shall be destroyed at the end of the school year, and no information regarding the suspension shall be placed in the student's permanent record or file or communicated to any person except as provided in section 9.8.

9.11 If suspension is ordered, the student shall have the right to request an appeal hearing before the superintendent. This appeal hearing shall be held within one week of the date such request is made.

9.12 The superintendent shall specifically determine if there was sufficient evidence to find that the alleged violation(s) occurred and if the penalty imposed was appropriate for the violation(s). At the appeal hearing,

- a. The superintendent shall review all written documents in the case and if requested review the entire recording of the hearing below or those portions thereof designated by the student and principal.
- b. The student and his representative, including an attorney, may address the superintendent on the evidence at the hearing below and the appropriateness of the penalty.

9.13 The superintendent shall reach a decision within forty-eight hours. If the superintendent determines that no violation occurred or that the penalty imposed was inappropriate for the violation(s), all records and documentation regarding the disciplinary proceedings and suspension shall be immediately destroyed, and no information regarding the hearing shall be placed in the student's permanent record or file or communicated to any person except as provided in Section 9.8.

Comment: Section 9.1 delineates the types of student misconduct warranting suspension. The Commission recognizes that school systems may wish to add to or delete from this list depending on policy considerations in their locale. Any additions should clearly describe the prohibited activity and should be limited to behavior for which suspension is an appropriate penalty.

The remainder of the sections on suspension reflect the principle that when the penalty increases so should the procedural safeguards. Accordingly, section 9.2 provides for notice, 9.6 for a hearing before an impartial hearing officer, and 9.8 for findings of fact.

Section 9.10 is designed to minimize any unnecessary collateral effects of suspensions. The purpose of the suspension is to punish the student by excluding him from regular classroom instruction. It is unwise to add to the punitive effect of the suspension by imposing academic penalties such as reduced grades. The Commission believes that a suspended student should be given every encouragement to benefit from classroom instruction when he/she returns to school. The imposition of academic penalties during suspension only discourages the student and tends to lead to the same behavioral problems which caused the suspension. For the same reason, the Commission believes that the student should be allowed to complete assignments and tests during exclusion. Finally, the Commission does not believe that records on a suspension should be maintained beyond the end of the school year. The record serves no legitimate purpose and can have potentially harmful effects on the student long after the penalty has been served.

10.0 Expulsion and Involuntary Transfer

10.1 The principal may recommend expulsion, which shall be defined as exclusion from regular classroom instruction for any period exceeding seven (7) school days, or involuntary transfer to the regular classroom program of another school during the school year only if the student persistently violates section 9.1 of this Code in such a manner that his removal is necessary to protect the physical safety of others or to prevent substantial interference with the right of others to pursue an education.

10.2 If the principal recommends expulsion or involuntary transfer, he/she shall mail, within twenty-four (24) hours of the alleged act(s) upon which the recommendation is based or within twenty-four (24) hours of the time he/she learns of such alleged acts, a notice to the student and to his parent(s) or guardian(s). Such notice shall contain:

- a. a statement that the principal is recommending expulsion or involuntary transfer of the student and, in the case of an involuntary transfer, the name and address of the school to which transfer is recommended;
- b. the length of time for which expulsion or involuntary transfer is being recommended;
- c. a complete description of the school regulation(s) allegedly violated by the student;
- d. a full statement of the facts as known to the principal leading to the recommendation for expulsion;
- e. a list of the witnesses against the student and the nature of their testimony;
- f. the time and place of a hearing to be held no sooner than five (5) school days from the date notice is postmarked unless an earlier hearing date is requested by the student;
- g. specific reference to the student's right to have a hearing, to have an attorney represent him/her at the hearing, to present witnesses, to cross-examine adverse witnesses, and to have a verbatim transcript or tape recording of the hearing provided by the school board at no cost to the student, and to have access to his/her school records as provided by sections 2.1-2.5 of this Code;

h. the addresses and telephone numbers of all local legal services offices and other sources of free or inexpensive legal assistance.

10.3 The principal and hearing officer shall follow sections 9.3-9.10 in establishing and conducting the hearing, except:

- a. The hearing shall be conducted before a hearing panel, which will be composed of the hearing officer as chairperson and voting member, 2 teachers elected by the teaching faculty, and 2 students elected by the student body at the beginning of each school year. In expulsion proceedings, findings of fact and penalties shall be determined by a majority vote of the hearing panel.
- b. All witnesses presenting testimony against the student shall appear in person at the hearing. The student, his/her parent(s) or guardian(s), and his/her attorney shall be allowed to cross-examine such witnesses.
- c. A tape recording or verbatim transcript of the hearing shall be made and a copy shall be available to the student on request at no cost.

10.4 To impose expulsion, the hearing panel must find that:

- a. the student violated section 9.1 of this Code at least three (3) times during one (1) school year and that each violation was serious enough, in the absence of other violations, to warrant suspension; or
- b. the continued presence of the student in school would endanger the physical safety of others or cause substantial interference with the right of others to pursue an education.

10.5 No expulsion shall extend beyond the end of the school year during which the acts leading directly to the expulsion occurred.

10.6 In any case where the hearing panel imposes expulsion, the student shall have the right to request an appeal hearing before the school board, or before a committee consisting of at least three voting members of the school board. This appeal hearing shall be held within one week of the date such request is made.

10.7 The board or committee thereof conducting the appeal hearing shall specifically determine if there was sufficient evidence to find that the alleged violation(s) occurred and if the penalty imposed was appropriate for the violation(s). At the appeal hearing.

- a. The board or committee shall review all written documents in the case and if requested review the entire recording or transcript of the hearing below or those portions thereof designated by the student and principal.
- b. The student and his representative, including an attorney, may address the board or committee on the evidence at the hearing below and the appropriateness of the penalty.

10.9 The student shall participate in regular classroom instruction pending the appeal hearing unless the hearing panel specifically finds that continued presence of the student in school will endanger the physical safety of others or substantially interfere with the right of others to pursue an education. The number of days the student is excluded from school under this section and under sections 8.1-8.5 shall be deducted from the length of the expulsion or involuntary transfer if such expulsion or involuntary transfer is for a specific number of days.

Comment: Expulsion and involuntary transfer are very serious disciplinary measures. They should be imposed only after the student has had full procedural protection. Consequently, the procedures prior to an expulsion or involuntary transfer are more elaborate than those preceding a suspension. The additional protection provided a student in an expulsion case includes having an attorney present at the hearing (at the student's expense), confronting all adverse witnesses, conducting the hearing before a panel, and having the right to appeal the panel's decision to the school board or a committee thereof.

11.0 Involuntary Classification

11.1 Before any student is involuntarily classified into special classes for mentally, emotionally, behaviorally, or physically impaired children, the student and his parent(s) or guardi-

an(s) shall be entitled to all rights of notice, hearing and appeal contained in sections 10.2-10.9 except:

- a. in the notice required by section 10.2, the parent(s) or guardian(s) shall be informed of their right to obtain an independent diagnostic evaluation of the student at the school board's expense and shall be given the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of appropriate local diagnostic agencies; and
- b. in the notice required by section 10.2, the parent(s) or guardian(s) shall be specifically informed of their right to have copies of all tests and reports upon which the proposed action is based and to present expert medical, psychological, and educational testimony at the hearing; and
- c. the student, and his/her parent(s) or guardian(s) shall be given sufficient time to prepare for the hearing, except that if the student is temporarily suspended pending the hearing under section 8.5 the hearing shall be held no more than 30 days from the day the notice in section 10.2 is postmarked; and
- d. to impose involuntary classification, the hearing panel must find that placement in a special school class or program would substantially improve the student's ability to benefit from school attendance.

Comment: Although involuntary classification is not always imposed as a disciplinary measure, there are enough such cases to warrant special procedural safeguards prior to all types of major involuntary classification. And, in addition to its potential use as a disciplinary measure, involuntary classification can have adverse long-run effects on a student's opportunities in later life. Thus, all the procedures required prior to an expulsion were incorporated into this section and some additional safeguards were provided.

12.0 Education for Excluded Students

12.1 Any student temporarily suspended, suspended or expelled from regular classroom instruction shall be allowed full use of his/her regular textbooks and shall be provided with the

assignments and tests for the classes from which he/she has been excluded. In addition, the student shall be allowed to participate at no cost in any alternative forms of instruction such as night school, tutoring, televised instruction, or correspondence courses provided to the public by the school board.

Comment: Please see *Comment* following Suspensions, section 9.0.

13.0 Corporal Punishment

13.1 Students shall not be subject to corporal punishment.

Comment: The Commission believes that corporal punishment is inconsistent with the values expressed in this Code. Furthermore, there is no need to resort to corporal punishment because this Code provides ample authority to deal with disruptive students without inflicting physical pain upon them.

Appendix H

People Interviewed for this Report

In addition to over 300 school officials and community leaders whom we interviewed for *Children Out of School in America*, we spoke to or visited the following people about school discipline and suspensions:

GORDON AUSTIN, Head Teacher, Farragut Outpost, Division 179, Better Boys Foundation Family Center, Chicago, Illinois

ROLAND BETTS, Former Assistant Principal, Englewood Middle School, Englewood, New Jersey

JOHN CAWTHORNE, Principal, Lower School, Massachusetts Experimental School, Roxbury, Massachusetts

HOWARD DENION, Assistant to the Deputy Superintendent, Chicago Public Schools, Chicago, Illinois

GILBERT DEFRY, Administrator for the Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children, Chicago Public Schools, Chicago, Illinois

HERBERT G. ELLIS, Director, Garfield Pupil Service Center, District Nine, Chicago Public Schools, Chicago, Illinois

JOHN ELSON, Lawyer, Mandel Legal Aid Clinic, University of Chicago Law School, Chicago, Illinois

CAROL FINEBERG, Project Manager, Beacon Light Schools Program Linkages, The Learning Cooperative, Board of Education, New York City, New York

LEONARD FINKELSTEIN, Director of Alternative Programs, Philadelphia Public Schools, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

IDA MAE FLETCHER, President, United Concerned Parents, Teachers, Citizens, and Concerned Organizations of the West Side, Chicago, Illinois

JOHN GIBSON, Assistant Principal, Industrial Skill Center, Chicago, Illinois

JUDY GOTTSEGEN, Education Department, American Friends Service Committee, Chicago, Illinois

CURTIS D. HARSTAD, Director, Children in Trouble Division of the John Howard Association, Chicago, Illinois

WILLIAM HOWELL, Director, Walk-In School, Richland County School District No. 1, Columbia, South Carolina

NANCY B. JEFFERSON, Executive Director, Midwest Community Council, Chicago, Illinois

- WAYNE JENNINGS, Principal, St. Paul Open School, St. Paul Public Schools, St. Paul, Minnesota
- WILLIAM JONIS, Director, Bureau of Dropout Prevention Programs, Chicago Public Schools, Chicago, Illinois
- STEVEN R. KAMINSKY, Student Ombudsman, I.S. 44, New York City, New York
- BERNARD K. KARIIN, Consultant in Special Education, Department of Special Education, Chicago Public Schools, Chicago, Illinois
- SAMUEL KAWRUCK, Chief, Dropout Prevention Program, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.
- MARY KIRBY, Field Director, Shalom Peer Counseling Program, Department of Youth Activities, Archdiocese of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- JOSEPH W. LEE, District Superintendent, District Nineteen, Chicago Public Schools, Chicago, Illinois
- SISTER MARIE MADELEINE BOYD, Director, Shalom Peer Counseling Program, Department of Youth Activities, Archdiocese of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
- GERALD H. MARTIN, Master Teacher, SAND, Hartford Public Schools, Hartford, Connecticut
- PRIMUS MOOTRY, Better Boys Foundation Family Center, Chicago, Illinois
- KENNON MUNDY, Supervisor of Office for Student Placement, Seattle Public Schools, Seattle, Washington
- KENNETH E. OSVOLD, Director, Career Study Centers I and II, St. Paul Public Schools, St. Paul, Minnesota
- PETER R. ROACH, Administrative Assistant, Hartford Public Schools, Hartford, Connecticut
- JOSEPH ROSEN, District Superintendent, District Ten, Chicago Public Schools, Chicago, Illinois
- FRED L. RYAN, Director, ESFA VIII Dropout Prevention Project, Fall River Public Schools, Fall River, Massachusetts
- LUTHER W. SEABROOK, Principal, I.S. 44, New York City, New York
- EARL SHEPARD, Education Coordinator, SAND, Hartford Public Schools, Hartford, Connecticut
- PHILIP A. VISO, Principal, Industrial Skill Center, Chicago, Illinois
- STANLEY J. VOPAI, Assistant Principal, King Education Vocation Guidance Center, Chicago, Illinois
- GWENDOLYN WILKS, Master Teacher, SAND, Hartford Public Schools, Hartford, Connecticut
- THOMAS WOLFE, National Alternative Schools Project, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts

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